

Top. Ind. in Hart
ORIGINAL ENGLISH EDITION

**The
QUARTERLY
REVIEW**

No. 498

OCTOBER, 1928

Vol. 251

- I. The Public School Spirit. By C. H. P. Mayo
II. Presidential Election in the United States. By Ignatius Phayre
III. Recent Progress in Sunlight Knowledge. By Leonard V. Dodds
IV. The Substance of Greek Tragedy. By G. M. Sargeant
V. Divorce Law Reform. By the Hon. Mr. Justice Marshall
VI. "Goldy." By Martin G. Welsh
VII. Archaeological and Topographical Research in and near Rome, 1908-1928. By Thomas Ashby, D.Litt.
VIII. Agriculture in Wales: The Lesson for English Farmers. By S. L. Bensusan
IX. British Trade in South America. By W. A. Hirst
X. Musical Labels. By R. W. Mendl
XI. The Slum Problem. By Reginald Rowe
XII. Lord Balfour. By Algernon Cecil
XIII. Some Recent Books.

Published Quarterly by the

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY

(ROBERT J. SPENCE, PROP.)

249 WEST THIRTEENTH STREET, NEW YORK.

Single Copies \$1.50

Yearly Subscription \$5.00

Canada Subscription \$5.00 per year; Single Copies \$1.50

Entered at New York Post Office as Second Class Matter

LONDON: JOHN MURRAY

Select Educational Institutions

GIRLS' SCHOOLS

College of St. Elizabeth

Convent Station, New Jersey
45 Minutes from New York

Catholic College for Women
Registered by Regents

Standard College Preparatory Courses
Academy of St. Elizabeth
Send for Catalogue

Saint Mary's School Mount Saint Gabriel

PEEKSKILL-ON-THE-HUDSON, N. Y.

Boarding School for Girls

Under the charge of the Sisters of St. Mary
New fireproof building beautifully situated
For catalogues address *The Sister Superior*

CHEVY CHASE SCHOOL

Residential school for girls. Senior high school,
with two years advanced work beyond. Twelve-acre
campus. Address CHEVY CHASE SCHOOL, Box N,
FREDERIC ERNEST FARRINGTON, Ph. D.,
Headmaster,
Washington, D. C.

ANNA HEAD SCHOOL

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA.

A progressive school for girls of all ages. Thorough
preparation for College. Strong post graduate de-
partment. Hockey, tennis, basket ball and golf all
the year.

Mary E. Wilson, M. L., Principal.

Box J.

HARCOURT A Church School for Girls

Recently Incorporated

GAMBIER, OHIO

Miss Harriette Merwin }
Miss Marion Eloise Lasher } *Principals*

BOYS' SCHOOLS

SEVERN SCHOOL

A country boarding school for boys. Ideal loca-
tion on Severn River near Annapolis. Prepares for
College, West Point and Annapolis. Exceptionally
thorough work given and demanded. Students taught
how to study. Water sports and all athletics. Limited
to fifty. Catalogue.

ROLLAND M. TEEL, Ph. B., Principal,
Boone, Md.

ST. JAMES SCHOOL

Episcopal

A select home school for BOYS of the GRADE
Ideally situated on a beautiful tract of 180 acres
MILITARY. All sports under supervision. Parent
care. Limited number. Small classes. Individual
attention. Graduates enter all leading secondary
schools. 25th year. For catalogue address
FREDERICK E. JENKINS, Headmaster
Box S, Faribault Minnesota

THE ORATORY SCHOOL

College preparatory school for the sons of

Gentlemen.
Conducted by the Oratorian Father.
Classes taught by competent laymen.
Preference given to applicants to Lower School.
Apply to Headmaster,
Summit, New Jersey

Virginia Episcopal School LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

prepares boys at cost for college and universi-
Modern equipment. Healthy location in the mo-
tains of Virginia. Cost moderate, made possi-
ble through the generosity of founders. For catalog
apply to

REV. WILLIAM G. PENDLETON, D. D., Rector

RANDOLPH-MACON ACADEMY

BIRMINGHAM, VIRGINIA

Beautiful and healthful location at foot of Fan-
Peaks of Otter in Blue Ridge Mountains of Virg-
Work thoroughly accredited. Military training. Se-
emphasis on Character building. Rates only \$500.00
nine months session. For catalog address:

COLONEL Wm. R. PHELPS, M.A., Principal

ROXBURY

A Special Type of Boarding School.
College Preparation
Sound Instruction by the Tutorial Method
High Record of Efficiency in College
Entrance Examinations.
A. L. Sheriff, Headmaster
Cheshire, Connecticut.

Westminster

Prepares Boys for College

Upper and Lower School. Summer and Winter Sessions.
Raymond Richards McOrmond, A. B. (Yale)
Head Master

SIMSBURY, CONNECTICUT

LEARN LANGUAGES

Private and Class instruction in all modern
languages. English included. Skilled native in-
struction at reasonable tuition. Day and Evening
Enroll at a BERLITZ SCHOOL in New
York, Brooklyn, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Wash-
ton, Detroit, Chicago, etc.

HOME STUDY COURSE

for out of town students. Write for
New York Berlitz School, 30 West 34th

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 498.—OCTOBER, 1928.

Art. 1.—THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SPIRIT.

SURROUNDED by the restless tentacles of an ever-widening Democracy the great Public Schools of England are becoming more and more lonely and in danger of being pulled from the special place which they have hitherto occupied. They are old, sometimes venerable with age; they began for the most part when teaching was in the hands of the Church, when through the study of Latin and Greek the end of all education was in the words of Milton 'to know God aright and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him and to be like him.' They are strong in tradition, and their claim to maintain their present position lies in that strength. They make no show (greater than that of other schools) in the strain of modern scholarship; yet in spite of this, or is it rather because of this, hard-headed men of business are known to prefer their product to the scientifically educated output of the very efficient technical schools, and equally scientifically educated foreigners do us the honour of pilgrimages in the hope that they may learn the secret of that fine but elusive *esprit de corps* which lives in these schools, and be able to carry something of it back to their own land.

This spirit is the very soul of these old schools, perhaps it is partly indigenous to their origin, and partly the result of their long history. Perhaps it was created by the teaching of the monks who would inspire into their pupils' minds that *to be* rather than *to know* was the true educational ideal; but if so, intervening centuries have added to their work. England is great and has

Vol. 251.—No. 498.

played so noble a part in spreading the blessings of civilisation because she in the past was guided by statesmen who, as boys in the Public Schools, learnt in the Classics to know the lives of great men, and gained from them a knowledge of humanity which added sympathy to their judgment, and kindness to their conduct. And the relation that so closely existed between these schools and the government of the country was reciprocal in its effect; on the one hand, it gave breadth of view to the government, on the other a fine standard of duty and a fuller sense of *noblesse oblige*; and if the soul of the Public Schools of England should be destroyed the end of the special contribution which our national life has made and is making for the betterment of the world will not be far off. Already the horrible invention (or is it discovery?) of the competitive examination system—truly, no doubt, a necessary appendage to democracy—has altered the old monks' standard, it has exalted knowledge into a position higher than that of character, and tended to push down the weightier matters of the law.

And now the Labour Party has issued a manifesto in which it places in the forefront of its policy, 'the creation of a democratic system of education adequately financed, free from the taint of class distinctions, and organised as a continuous whole from the nursery school to the university.' This can have no other meaning than that the great expensive boarding schools with their individuality are to be swept into a general scheme of scheduled time tables and prescribed subjects, of a daily routine mapped out according to a bureaucratic standard: they are to be sacrificed to that chimera which demands universal equality, that can only be reached when the world has settled down into unutterable dullness and unbroken monotony—which nobody wants.

Sometimes I have been on the top of Dartmoor in glorious sunshine, when the beauty of the expansive and varied view has been spread out before me; there were the upstanding tors of rugged shape calling for struggle and adventure, there were the dark wondering cattle hardy and enduring, there were the cottages in the sheltered clefts, there were the streams of crystal water flowing to the channels where they were much

needed, there was the distant haze over the busy villages, and it has seemed to me as an allegory of the course of human life, suggestive of effort, and courage and endurance; of ends attained and rest achieved. Everything that exercises and stimulates the mind of man can find its counterpart in the scene. And there has come down quite suddenly and unexpectedly, a thick, impenetrable, all-pervading cloud, which has blotted out every detail; the tors, the heather, the cottages, the stream, the distant view, all vanish as though they were not there; even the road itself has been hard to keep and to follow; there was nothing but grey, chilling, depressing mist everywhere, and nothing to do but to pray not to lose the road itself and thus be finally lost in the cold and clammy fog. And such a contrast in nature is not an unfair simile between life as it is and life as it would be when universal standardisation had been reached, and the utter dreariness of passionless existence attained.

And what nonsense it is to talk about the taint of class distinctions! Is there any taint in them? Can there be any taint in the inevitable? And social inequalities would by nature seem to be inevitable. Though they have varied in different ages, there have been feudal class distinctions and ecclesiastical class distinctions; now the aristocracy of birth is replaced by the aristocracy of wealth; perhaps some day when the millennium is reached there may be an aristocracy of goodness, and then all problems will be solved; till then let us face existing conditions and value what is good in them. This cry for 'an education free from the taint of class distinctions' (while there is no definition of what is meant by class), seems to me to be asking for the mist that settles down on Dartmoor and wipes out all its beauty. Has the attainment of standardisation in human affairs, even in the limited way ever attained, made for progress rather than stagnation? Many a headmaster laments the effect of the Burnham scale upon his staff; he will speak of the lack of incentive, the loss of initiative, the unconsciousness lowering of effort, the tendency to level down rather than to level up.

Men's minds just now are obsessed with the idea of that standardisation which makes for mass production.

Mass production has become a fetish, and the Public Schools are against it. Where in the past one article was made, which reflected the mind of the workman, now machines turn out a thousand to the same pattern till our perceptions are dulled by their uniformity. Everywhere it is the same, many alike, it is quantity that pays; and to produce the quantity wheels revolve with their amazing energy, free from all passion and emotion. Henry Ford is held up to us as the most wonderful example of this mass-producing age. He has achieved wealth beyond the dreams of Monte Cristo, and on all sides he has his imitators. No wonder the human mind is fascinated by the marvels of its own invention; it has made machines that create easily and in an instant what man can only achieve with difficulty and in days. Why should it not standardise education which will work as a machine and thus tend to the uniformity that will eliminate human passions?

Against this idea is the fact that men and women are not made in handfuls and in masses, but each individually, in form and in character. We are so dreadfully inconsistent; we want individuality in matters relating to ourselves. When we are ill we wish to be treated as a unit, not as one of a crowd. We reckon the great physician to be the man who with all his stores of knowledge can bring his mind and his skill to each individual case. We know the great schoolmaster to be the one who can enlist the sympathies of his pupils, and make each one feel that he is being cared for and taught, and the great school is that which makes its own particular contribution to the varied attainments of an educated people. We fully realise that there is no influence alike so powerful and so singular as that of individual character; and have no wish to be regarded as just one of a mass-produced multitude. Yet this is the aim of a scheme of education organised as a continuous whole from the nursery to the University after the Prussian standard. The whole thing is absurd and self-condemned. While speakers in the N.U.T. meetings complain that there are 1,000,000 children in classes of fifty each and 3,000,000 in classes of forty each, and make a demand for smaller classes so that each child may get more individual attention and be more fittingly educated

according to its own special gifts and capacity, these leaders of the Labour Party are striving to make education more standardised by bringing all schools under the same organisation, and under the same care from the age of three to the age of nineteen. And the Public Schools are against it.

There is an opinion abroad, which has many adherents, that the panacea for all the admitted wrongs in our social system lies in education; crime will be diminished, the hungry will be fed, the naked will be clothed, slums will disappear; the visionary Utopia will materialise when all, the masses especially, are educated. This is the justification for the State expenditure of 100,000,000*l.* a year upon education, by which is meant for the most part the teaching to read and to write, to do sums and to gain a smattering of science and of languages in large and attractive rooms made beautiful with noble pictures and artistic furnishings. This belief is a fine creed, but whether it is capable of regenerating mankind is known only to the gods, certainly it has no past records to support it. But this, at least, can be said in its favour, it may perhaps diminish that despair which comes from an empty mind and unoccupied hands; for there is no greater incentive to misery and vice than that of not knowing how to spend idle hours—an educated boy or girl ought to have fewer of these hours than is the lot of those whose faculties have been undeveloped. It is interesting, however, to note that at a recent meeting of the N.U.T. a speaker had the courage to say that the education of the country would be advanced if many of the schools were burnt down and the space they occupied and the expense of maintenance were given up to sports and games and physical culture generally. Very many people will agree with him; he was one who knew what he was saying, and the Conference did not howl him down. There is often more of great value to be learnt, both by individuals and by peoples, in a good game than in half the class-rooms.

And this brings me to the rub, what is education? what is meant by this much-abused word? Before the War most people would have agreed that Germany was the most educated country in the world, in scientific development, in the critical faculty, in history and in

knowledge generally it seemed to be the leader of the world. And I take it that the average German would have put knowledge and the unstinted application after it in the forefront of the qualities which gave such undoubted strength to his national life; it is the same complete scientific organisation from the age of three to the age of nineteen that the Labour Party strives after. Yet by the end of 1914 we, and the world at large, had realised that in spite of their knowing so much the Germans had learnt so little; they did not understand the simplest law as regards honour and chivalry; at any rate understand it as hitherto understood by all civilised countries. To preserve that old understanding is why the nations fought on and on at such a calamitous cost; they never hesitated in their conviction that to lose the world was better than to lose the soul.

The real fact seems to be there are two types of education, which like Euclid's tangents to a circle just meet but do not cut. The one finds its expression mainly in the old Public Schools—unique institutions that have no exact parallel in any other country—where the boys learn to be independent and to bear responsibility, to think of their side, their house, their school rather than of self: the other, the strenuous striving after knowledge, is more at home in the newer type of school; and there arises from a survey of history, especially of the last twenty years, this undoubted fact that progress in knowledge, in intellect, in science which is not accompanied by a corresponding progress in moral perception and in character, in heart and in soul, is bound sooner or later to end in disaster both for individuals and for entire nations. As a proof of this statement consider only the years 1914-18.

And as I recall the educational ideals which dominated Germany there come back to me two memories. In 1902 a friend, an Inspector of Schools, who was staying near a large town in Schleswig-Holstein, was taken to see the Municipal School of which his host was very proud. The Inspector said to a boy whose work he had been commending, 'What are you going to be when you grow up?' At once the boy answered, 'I wish to be near the Emperor when he marches in triumph through London.'

13

The shock of this totally unexpected answer staggered my friend, nor was his consternation diminished when the teacher said, 'That is the answer you would receive to such a question from nine out of every ten boys of whom you asked it.' Subsequent events of twelve years later are a striking comment upon this incident; but contrast not only the mentality revealed by it, but the pervading atmosphere in the school with what would have happened if the conditions had been reversed; it is absolutely inconceivable that a single English boy's ambitions would have turned to marching in triumph through Berlin under any conditions whatever; had they wandered at all far afield they would probably have turned to glorious visions of success on the river or the playing fields, and have been unexpressed. Some years ago I sent a description of the Eton and Harrow match at Lords to a distinguished German professor, thinking that the glowing account of the brilliant scene, and of the writer's joy in describing the soul that lives in honest play would reveal to him an aspect in our educational ideals which had no counterpart in his scientifically organised scheme, and his only comment was, 'What a waste of time!' And it is to this mass-producing, machine-made standard that an effort is to be made to reduce our schools, by removing class distinctions: as if there could be any aristocracy whatever, whether it be an aristocracy of nobles or of peasants, of employers or employed, of priests or of profanes, without class distinctions. It is these which save the world from being intolerable.

It is true that there are two types of education, and, broadly speaking, they follow along the lines of our social cleavage. Each has something to learn from the other. Far be it from any one to say that present social systems, the slow growth of ages, are right or good, though in Utopia there must be an aristocracy of some kind, if the world is not to wither through the absence of ambition. Probably it is as true now as it was sixty years ago 'that the working man must either dream or agitate'; no one would wish it otherwise, either for the working man or for any other man; progress comes from agitation. It is the manner of the agitation which matters; and an education on mass-producing lines seems to accentuate the undesirable. The general strike

of 1926 is a case in point. This was the negation of all moral law. Whether it is right to work seven hours a day or eight hours a day, whether wages should be on this scale or on that, is a matter for negotiation and for bargaining—but the wanton breaking of the bargain when it has once been made is a breach of the fundamental laws which form the basis of civilised life, and through the breach so made there can rush in a torrent that would overwhelm every sacred trust in human relationships. Above all things 'Play the game' is the teaching of the great Public Schools; those who led the strike and induced their victims to follow them could not have acted as they did, if in their education they had learnt this lesson: on the contrary, they sided with those who are willing to effect any change provided it is done by forceful and unconstitutional means.

We may not approve of all that our Public Schools stand for, but when, in the name of Democracy, an attempt is made to destroy them, it is worth remembering that they stand for individuality, and that the history of human progress is the history of individuality, the history of great men—and great men are not made in masses—and now that political power has left the class from which the Public School clientèle is drawn, it is all the more necessary that the principles for which they stand should remain strong, so that they be left free to develop the special attributes which by their training they bring to the national character. An artificial equality in education, as in any other human endeavour, would check enterprise and destroy energy. Men must be free, really free.

And if the senseless cry of generalising politicians—who pin their faith to the forceful imposition of educational standardisation—should succeed in damaging these schools, all classes in England would greatly suffer; for the lessons which they have taught have engendered in their sons a fine sense both of duty and responsibility that has not been found wanting in the crises of our history whether at home or abroad. We all owe much to that spirit which it may be the teaching of the monks of old first implanted.

C. H. P. MAYO.

Art. 2.—PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

NEXT month—after party and sectional skirmishes which have sputtered and rumbled through the continent for a whole year—the United States will be delivered to a brief uproarious tumult, whose issue no veteran campaigner will dare to predict. This time a Presidential Election coincides with that of 435 Members of the Lower House of Congress, together with the choosing of Senators by State-wide vote in thirty-two States. At the same time there are local elections in the forty-eight minor Parliaments, as well as for county, town, and municipal officers. Many of the Sovereign States will also elect their Governors and local Cabinets. The procedure of all this varies greatly in so loose an immensity; the ways and means—and language—are wildly unlike anything known in these tamer parts, with rival cities bidding fortunes for a Convention to be held in them. All business is suspended on Election Day; special arenas are erected, as for a Dempsey-Tunney prize-fight.

As for the whirlwind finish, imagination boggles at the scene. Blaring bands, street parades, flags and banners and buttons. Marching and countermarching. Oratory for which no English words exist. Strong men in tears; fevered feet that scrape and beat the floor—or even smash the chairs! And lastly, continuous cheers and 'stunt' noises that have been timed for an hour and a quarter on end. This 'synthetic enthusiasm' costs money. To restore the American 'normalcy' of Warren Gamaliel Harding in 1920 cost the Republican Committee the enormous sum of \$9,700,738; their less plutocratic opponents spent a further \$2,537,750. These are the official figures of Senator Kenyon's Committee of Inquiry. They do not include the expenses of county, or other local committees; the gross total reaches \$20,000,000. This huge outlay recalls the notorious Elk Hills oil-scandal, in which Harding's Home Secretary, Albert B. Fall, was convicted of 'conspiracy and fraud' by the Supreme Court of the United States. This case took four years to reach a jury; and Fall's confederate—the multi-millionaire, Harry F. Sinclair, whose contribution of \$160,000 to Republican funds let the cat out of the bag—was at last

acquitted, amid a furious storm of protest from Congress and Press and people, from sea to sea. A typical comment on this amazing case is that of Senator George W. Norris, Chairman of Committee on the Judiciary: 'Sinclair has too much money to be convicted. We ought to pass a law that no man worth \$100,000,000 should be tried for *any* crime. That, at least, would make us consistent.'

No doubt the code of honour in these matters varies with time and place, and climate. Was it not agreed in the Spartan Republic that stealing was not dishonest if it were not found out? I was amused by the political and commercial ethics which I found in the various Iberian Republics, from Santo Domingo and Honduras to Bolivia: here the sin of peculation is in effect expressed by the old Greek synonym of 'missing the mark.' It is perfectly certain that what is merely 'cute' in the United States is not considered 'cricket' in Europe. From President Harding's Secretary of the Interior to President Washington's Secretary of War—James McHenry—we run *toute la lyre* in the history of America's hierarchy. And on Aug. 11, 1799, we find the Father of his Country embarrassed over foreign policy abroad and graft at home. 'I come now,' he writes playfully to McHenry, 'to the scene of Bribery. And pray, my good Sir, what part of the \$800,000 has come to your share? As you are high in office, I hope you did not disgrace yourself in the acceptance of a paltry Bribe—a mere \$100,000 perhaps? But here again I become serious.' . . . The First President hopes this matter will be 'probed to the bottom.' . . . 'It will have an unhappy effect on the public mind if it be not so.' *Deprendi miserum est!*

The President of the United States is vested with prodigious power, in spite of recurrent opposition from Congress. His Cabinet is no more than a Board of Advisers; the Chief Executive alone is responsible for their acts, and none of his Ministers may sit in Congress during his term of office. Under strong-willed men like Roosevelt and Wilson, not one of the Cabinet was allowed to take any step without the knowledge and consent of the President. And now America's might is a factor undreamed of even by Wilson, who in the letter that lies before me writes: 'I have a passion for interpreting

great thoughts to the world'! To-day America's investments abroad—even excluding the War-Loans—total \$15,000,000,000. Prosperity is her religion and World-Peace its imperious rite. She looks for a President who is first and foremost an Organiser of Prosperity; and a Presidential Year is always dreaded by reason of the dislocation it entails. Export trade has continued to make astonishing strides. To the Latin-American nations alone nearly \$1,000,000,000 worth of goods was sold last year; and since 1913, Far Eastern sales have multiplied more than four and a half times.

The United States is not aggressively 'Imperial,' but fabulous riches and mechanical energy must somehow find outlets of profit in all parts. And here is a latent peril which is shrewdly put by the Governor of the old 'Free State' of Maryland, Mr Albert G. Ritchie, a man of fine culture and charm and real vision, as well as a 'dark horse' in the headlong Grand National which is imminent over there. 'The Dollar,' Mr Ritchie points out, 'may well make a fiction of our anti-imperial pose. We are all agreed that we do not want Imperialism in terms of Empire; but the Dollar is already acquiring it in terms of Power. The Dollar may not dream of political empire, but it *does* dream of Markets.' . . . 'Imperialism can be economic as well as militaristic, and is therefore quite as dangerous.'

The coming Presidential term, whether single or double, will cover the Conference of the Powers signatory to the Washington Conference; this will take place in 1931. It will, moreover, see a more definite crystallising of America's aims than has yet been made manifest; these we have seen in curious ebb and flow between new and very costly armaments by land and sea and air, and earnest approaches on the 'Outlawry of War' from the Foreign Minister in Washington. These two extremes have puzzled the French. 'There is no other nation,' concludes that able observer, M. André Tardieu, in 'La Grande Revue' of Paris, 'with which it is so difficult to co-operate.' But then all gestures from the State Department are primarily intended to influence the groundlings at home—more especially in a Presidential Year.)

I have set out these preliminaries to show how im-

portant is America's choice of a Chief Executive in next month's election. Of 'Hats' in the ring there have been many, including the Red Indian Senator, Charles Curtis of Kansas, who spent his boyhood in the picturesque 'tepees' of his mother's kindred on the Kaw Indian Reservation, near Topeka. And later he became a jockey. A poor man still, Senator Curtis has the esteem and respect of all in this emotional and striving continent. Governors Lowden and Ritchie, as well as Senators Walsh of Montana and Reed of Missouri, were among the many 'possibles' who have glowed and faded through the tumult! But the outstanding Presidential candidates are Herbert Hoover, recently the Minister of Commerce, and the Governor of New York—the famous 'Al' Smith—whose early life is indicated if I liken him to a Whitechapel waif who later on became a Billingsgate porter. Mr Smith has climbed high as a Tammanyman of the new and cleaner day. Extraordinarily adroit as a political strategist, he has also 'a way with him' that swept the preferential primaries in quite unlikely States and secured hundreds of delegates duly 'instructed' for his nomination. The common people have little enough to do with electing a President in this continental Federation, of which a single sovereign State is four-and-a-half times the size of England. It is almost wholly a matter for the Party Machines and Bosses, with Big Business and the Money-Power controlling all. These hidden forces pull the strings for President, much as an impresario might do for the engagements of an artist of renown. 'The leader of a parade,' I once heard 'Al' Smith remark at an Albany demonstration, 'should never get too far out in front. He might lose his gang!' *Experto crede.*

Now let us examine, as briefly as may be, the cumbrous, exuberant mechanism which is to place the thirty-first President of the United States in the White House, with more authority than any monarch over the destinies of 120,000,000 people in the richest nation of which history has any record. National Committees of both parties are permanently organised on the basis of one man from each State and Territory. Methods of the 'efficiency engineer' are applied to political instruction and suasion throughout a vast continent.

There may be a dozen executive sub-committees, including a General Staff and bureaux of Finance and 'Spellbinders'; Women; Campaign-Clubs, Labour, the Foreign Voters; Farmers, Educational and—most important of all—Publicity. It is this last which prepares the Campaign-Book, as well as Press and literary matter by the trainload; also the advertising and cartoons, the moving pictures, radio-appeals and Barnum-'stunts' of attack and defence, which must never know a moment's 'let-up.'

Breathless battle is joined in a land as large as all Europe, where journeys are reckoned in thousands of miles. The weapons are various, surprises are many; but donations of money are, indeed, the sinews of this singular war. In the first frenzy of 'Free-Silver,' when Bryan was matched against McKinley, the Republican Boss, Mark Hanna, spent \$3,485,000; but the grand total exceeded \$6,000,000, and the Democrats spent another \$1,700,000. Wall Street was badly scared, and therefore 'parted' freely. Directors of railroads, banks, and industrial concerns voted large contributions out of their shareholders' money, feeling that they dared not lose this election. On the other side, Senator Stewart of Nevada and the silver-mining interests strained every nerve to win. Before Boss Hanna could proceed, he and his Ohio friends had to raise a large private fund to pay the business debts of McKinley, so as to stave off a bankruptcy which would have ruined his Presidential prospects. Naturally, money thus provided has to be gratefully remembered when the White House is reached, and public offices and favours can be bestowed.

The campaign issues of 1900 were less simple and clear-cut. A war had been fought by sea and land, leaving foreign possessions to the United States. The Isthmian Canal was to be constructed, new sense of greatness and destiny was looming. This time Mark Hanna drew less upon company coffers, and more upon the purses of private friends. Bryan relied upon his own blather—it was at that time a prodigious power—and also upon sectional sentiment in many of the States. Roosevelt had become Governor of New York on his return as a 'Rough Rider'-Colonel from the farcical battle-fields of Cuba. He was known to have an eye on

the Presidency; but having signed the Ford Franchise Tax, all the tramway companies were against him. He objected strongly to being forced on the national ticket for Vice-President, since in the ordinary course that spells political extinction. But the bosses and delegations compelled him to accept; and a few months later the chief prize passed automatically to Roosevelt through the assassination of McKinley by an anarchist at the Buffalo Exposition in 1901. The new 'accidental' President set his face against Big Business and the Trusts, which sought their own advantage rather than the public weal. Therefore, in 1904 Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania, acting for Wall Street interests, sought out a Republican candidate who would be more acceptable to the banks, railways, and great industrial and traction concerns. Failing in this, Big Business took the other side, and produced a Democratic candidate of their own in the person of Judge Alton Parker of New York, who, of course, lost much of the Bryan vote. Not until eight years later did surprising facts come to light about the reckless use of campaign-gifts in this election.

Taft's candidature was financed by rich friends, including his brother Charles, who alone furnished \$372,000. In 1912 Senator Moses Clapp, of Minnesota, set on foot an inquiry into these election-funds, similar to that carried on of late by Senators Walsh and Reed into the endless Teapot Dome scandal. The head of the Standard Oil had given \$125,000, and other officials of that colossal concern, a further \$150,000. Pierpont Morgan and E. H. Harriman each contributed \$150,000; Gould and Depew gave \$100,000 each; and Mr George W. Perkins \$160,000. Roosevelt's campaign in 1904 cost \$1,900,000; Wilson also had to find plutocratic friends, and his Committee spent about \$1,200,000. These expenses are quite apart from those incurred by State and local campaigns, which are prosecuted with hectic intensity in the whirlwind finish of a Presidential battle. The tendency is to find 'easy money' in six-figure cheques; and thereafter comes a reckoning with the donors which is not, and never can be, in the interests of America's democracy.

It is impossible to convey the maze of means used to fill the electoral chest, or the weird balance-sheets

presented to account for the outgoings. Even the agents, who are supposed to have access to millionaires and heads of corporations, must receive large sums for their service. Many campaigns leave a heavy deficit, such as that of Mr John W. Davis, a former ambassador in London. Part of this debt was cleared off by the gift of \$200,000 from the city of Houston, in return for the choice of that hustling Texan town for the Democratic Convention of 1928. All sorts of remedies have been proposed for this money evil, including a voting-tax of \$1 a head on Election Day, which is a national holiday all over the United States. Says Mr Courtland Smith, a former Postmaster-General: 'We spend more than \$2,000,000,000 a year to educate our children; yet we are shocked if a quadrennial National Election costs a total, for all parties, of \$10,000,000.' This poll-tax notion is not well received. It is objected that the ward leaders would be given money by men 'higher up' to provide voters with these dollars. Then what, it is further asked, of the suasive power of a second dollar for tobacco—or even a 'green-back' (\$5) to the ladies for their personal or household needs?

The real remedy is simple enough. A Presidential campaign could be conducted at small cost, leaving all publicity to the Press and the big news-agencies, after the Conventions have named their candidates and nailed up the 'planks' of their platforms. But that is not the joyous American way. Campaign-stuff of strident pull must be got out by the hundred tons. Fiery speeches of 'favourite sons' must be printed in millions, and sent off by mail and express, or air and freight trains. Acceptance orations of the candidates likewise go out in millions from the National Bureau to Central Committees of the States. And thence, yet other bureaucracies scatter this vivid and costly seed among fussy local bodies of districts, counties, cities, small rural towns and villages—even to the orange-orchards of California, the Rocky Mountain ranches; mining-camps of Arizona, the cotton-fields of Mississippi, languorous communities of the Gulf Coast, and thence up to lumber-centres of the Great Lakes. For this is no ordinary *congé d'élire*; it is an orgiastic tumult, as though all Europe were choosing a single King, from Iceland to Albania.

Party Headquarters is like a vast bank, with paid hands by the hundred. Discs and postcards are prepared; circulars, broad-sheets, posters, cartoons, and a daily service of selected matter for perhaps 3000 newspapers. The office lobbies are thronged with jostling idea-mongers and cranks, such as afflicted Lord Fisher at Victory House during the World War. There are campaign-songs to be tried on the piano, with a catchy chorus of the Party or the Candidate. Here are press-agents touting for 'ads.'; here also are the makers of flags and buttons cajoling the managers for epic contracts. Stereo-plates are forwarded to 6000 papers through the Western Union and American Press Association; printed copies of this rousing stuff are posted to 5000 more, besides daily news-letters and cartoons. The mailing-room is like a general post-office, where tens of thousands of dollars go in stamps. A woman's newspaper is circulated from ocean to ocean. And for thirteen millions of the foreign-born, the two Party arguments are 'put over' in Yiddish and Magyar; in Arabic and the three Norse tongues, as well as Italian, German, Polish, Russ, and many more.

The Speakers' Bureau is charged with the delicate task of picking thousands of paid orators; their railway-tickets and expenses in so vast and lavish a land are very heavy items. Can this man sway the Labour vote? Or the Foreign vote? Or the Railroad vote? Has that spell-binder a due sense of humour? Square pegs in round holes may swing a landslide in the wrong direction, even as the perching bird can start a disastrous avalanche in the Alps. This sharpshooting Babel is captained by Cabinet officers, by Senators and Congressmen, State Governors and Federal and State officials of every grade. Most of these are unpaid, or else return their cheques as crumbs for the gargantuan banquet which is toward in a spirit of endeavour that is at once joyous and fierce, as well as fraught with shocks and surprises which none can foresee. Was not Charles Evans Hughes excitedly named President of the United States by his managers in the cyclonic finish of 1916? Did he not falter out a few broken phrases in that great moment, while wife and daughters wept their joy—only to have the Californian thunderbolt of Woodrow Wilson's narrow

victory crash down upon them all out of the Far Western sky? He is rash indeed who ventures to forecast events in so inchoate a land, where the 'Inapprehensible'—what the Germans call *Unerfassbar*—seems to delight in confounding the holiest prophets. Nor must I omit to mention the elaborate movie and 'movietone' reels of the election; nor all the jazz-bands and whistles and sky-signs—a terrifying apparatus of clap-trap to enthrall and impress the unsophisticated millions of town and country, scattered through every region and climate from the Mexican Border up to the Canadian Line, and from Florida's palms to the tall timbers of Oregon and Washington State, along the Pacific North-West. Everything here—distances and discords; issues, promises, and performances; clamour, energy, vieing—and the pouring out of money—are all on a scale of truly dæmonic frenzy.

How should America forgo a quadrennial carnival so well attuned to her battling temperament? Every invention is made to serve: telegraph, telephone, and television; hurtling cars, reckless 'planes, and broadcasting to tens of millions. The Kansas farmer 'listens in' on his barbed wire; in Montana and Wyoming the trapper and poisoner of wolves lay aside his steels and suet and strychnine on Election Day. At Headquarters the General Staff is wrought to breaking-point. Now is the time for 'double-fisted punches' and the 'very best licks' of diagnosticians who know America's multiple soul as a doting mother knows her own babe. Ten million buttons deck the rival partisans. Haggard chiefs work twenty hours a day, knowing their own future careers to be at stake. Appeals for help ring and buzz in the small hours. A star orator has collapsed at the polling-station. He is haply an artist in sizzling invective. He may be a classic 'grin-grower'—even a political Chrysostom who can raise bumps of veneration for the candidate that will 'bore holes in the voter's hat'! Even such a casualty as this must be replaced. Another leader has lost his train between points as far apart as Ostend and Athens. He must take the cloudland route, with no regard for money.

So goes the desperate tug-of-war between the Democratic Donkey and the Republican Elephant; for thus

do the native cartoonists portray the two contending Parties. The first of these is now 136 years old, the second nearly seventy-five, dating back to the anti-slavery agitation of President Pierce's term. Fifteen elections have been held since the Civil War, and in only four of them have the Democrats won, being normally in a minority. Yet out of thirty-one Congresses in the same period, the Democrats have controlled eleven; and the Governors of nearly half the forty-eight States are now of that party, whose leaders were Jefferson, Jackson, Cleveland, Wilson, and Bryan. The major tenet of Jefferson's political creed was perfect trust in the morality, ability, and political sagacity of the masses. On the other hand, we have Hamilton's blunt finding: 'Your People, sir, is a great Beast!' These two beliefs marked the cleavage between the parties; but to-day all who court the *suffragia plebis* are careful to preach Jefferson, but to practise Hamilton, who had Gibbon's contempt for the common people, and on that account built up the Republicans' heritage of strength and power—banks, tariffs, and the rest. Hamilton it was who created special privileges for the 'classes,' so that these might support the Government and keep democracy from doing mischief.

Even the Democrats have been very far from reducing their Administration to that 'wise and frugal affair' which the idealistic Jefferson had in mind. On the contrary, their record shows a formidable increase in bureaucracy, and in that ever-growing interference with the citizens' private affairs which is disturbing the ablest thinkers of to-day. After his eleventh-hour victory over Hughes, Woodrow Wilson surveyed a list of 'the faithful' exceeding 30,000 in number; these cost the Treasury yet another \$50,000,000 a year. No wonder President Coolidge has insisted throughout on the urgent need for retrenchment in the cost of Government. Nothing so wasteful or lavish was ever known in any land; and the details might well seem incredible if I had space to set them out. Officials personally appointed by the President number over 60,000, and their salaries exceed \$127,500,000 a year, with the same extravagance marking all the lesser hierarchies of the forty-eight Sovereign States. But then 'the requests of a friend are always claims

upon me'; that Petrarchan weakness has always beset the President, who has so often had to rue his favours (as Harding did) in the words of Louis Quatorze: 'J'ai fait dix mécontents—et un ingrat'!

The whole Federal system of Government is now being challenged. Its trend—as Governor Ritchie of Maryland complains—is to draw the affairs of local government throughout a vast continent into a cast-iron bureaucracy in Washington, there to bind them fast in red tape. 'There is no doubt,' Mr Ritchie declares, 'that many of our so-called liberties are no longer "guaranteed." Our Government has become the most regulatory in all the world, excepting only Soviet Russia and Italy. I don't see how we can make it work, unless the people take an interest in it. But only about half our eligibles vote for a President, and only a majority of that half actually elects him.'

Senator Oscar W. Underwood—himself a Democratic candidate four years ago—comments still more forcefully upon this popular apathy and Party futility: 'In language that is more brutal than considerate, let me suggest that the Democratic Party is less powerful in Government affairs than organised Labour, the Anti-Saloon League or the Protestant Churches; and that the Republican party must stop, look, and listen when Big Business or the Ku-Klux-Klan waves the red flag at the legislative crossing.' To account for this, Mr Underwood maintains that 'the best brains and best energies of our people are devoted to Production. Politics are now, and always have been, of secondary interest to most Americans.' In this way, the Senator concludes, the professionals are enabled to absorb the power of government 'before the rest of the United States knows what is happening.'

It is not for outsiders to comment on the domestic aspect of this; but its effect upon foreign policy may spring many a surprise upon the world outside. Even that veteran Secretary of State, Elihu Root, has his doubts. I heard him impress upon the students of Yale University: 'That while democracy has proved successful under earlier and simpler conditions, it remains to be seen how it will stand the strain of those vast complications of life upon which our country is now

entering.' So there is great stock-taking over there in a new era of *Sachlichkeit* and stark realism. The ruthless *eaufortiste* is abroad; the sardonic jest of Juvenal is heard over once-sacred things; Catullan iambs lash the cultus of mass-production in merchandise and men:

'See the forest on those hills
Destined for the paper-mills!

'Pause amid those woodland scenes,
Here are future magazines!

'See that pine against the sky?
That is "Harper's" for July!

'See that hemlock in the canyon?
That's the "Woman's Home Companion."'

The crises of history are being recalled for new lessons, and the counsel of storm-tossed statesmen like Abraham Lincoln—especially the opening phrases of what his biographers call 'the most carefully-prepared speech of his whole life.' Thus it opens: 'If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it.' Even Calvin Coolidge feels the urge and press of higher destiny and its new direction; he broke his rule of taciturnity in a semi-private 'talk' which is more eloquent of America's change than all the wrought phrases of a formal Message to Congress. 'We do not need more material development,' the President points out, in his dry and whimsical way; 'we need more spiritual development. We do not need more intellectual power; we need more moral power. We do not need more knowledge; we need more character. We do not need more government; we need more culture. We do not need more law; we need more religion. We do not need more of the things that are seen; we need more of the things that are unseen.' *Cette larve lugubre aura plus tard des ailes!* No more compendious statement of the actual state of politics was ever uttered in the United States. One is reminded of impetuous Dante, walking in step with one of the proud in the real Purgatory. Here he sees penitents with masses of stone on their necks, 'as oxen beneath the yoke,' and can himself own to grievous sins of the soul and the flesh.

But high hope of amendment is implicit in this confession; a wistful leaning to the sweetness and light of the *bianca aspetto di cilestro*.

What America needs at this time, as all agree, is a real statesman in the White House, and no machine-made Party nominee. For the President wields astonishing power. He is *ex officio* Commander-in-Chief of both Army and Navy. He nominates all the Executive Chiefs, and many of the high judicial and administrative officials. He can veto legislation, and his prerogative to pardon offenders is without limit. Apart from this, his moral influence is immense; his countenance and favour are courted by 120,000,000 people. Yet since Andrew Jackson's day the White House has never had an occupant who was not a clean-cut party man. And when the election is over, such a one must distribute spoils of war to the stalwarts who have fought for him. The moment Harding made Albert Fall, of New Mexico, Secretary of the Interior, fears were expressed (only too truly!) that concession-mongers would have a royal time. Harding's campaign-manager was made Attorney-General. To Mr W. H. Hays fell yet another Cabinet office, in return for his efforts as Chairman of the Republican National Committee. All three of these have figured in the notorious Teapot Dome affair; and the President himself is said to have unloaded an obscure newspaper which he owned (the Marion 'Star') at a price that was double its real value.

To-day America is not so much hoping for, as insisting upon, an apostle who shall magnify his office; the true *bedeutendes individuum* of Goethe, who can foresee as well as govern. No doubt 'he will have the sea to drink'; but at all events he can begin the process with the eager aid of Congress and a great multitude. He may even insist—as the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders in London hopes he may—upon the payment of ancient debts, totalling no less than 49,600,000*l.*, by the eight defaulting States of the South. Mississippi actually passed a law to repudiate her share; and the only pretext put forward was that the investments she made with the money did not pay! Here surely we see 'the world made safe for Democracy' in a sense of which even Wilson never dreamed?

But the unlikeliest men have been landed in the White House. In the person of Grover Cleveland the Democrats resumed their sway after twenty-four years in the wilderness. The new Chief felt lost; he had no 'social training,' he mourned, and knew nobody. 'Sometimes,' he told Henry Watterson, 'I wake in the night and rub my eyes, thinking it's all a dream.' Cleveland's diplomatic appointments were truly staggering. 'What do you want for So-and-So?' the forlorn President would ask of a suitor, who had called to solicit a Foreign Legation for a friend.

'Belgium or Switzerland.'

'Ah! I've just promised Berne to a pal of Corning's.' It was like a Labour Exchange in West Ham. But then everything was casual in the old days. At a classic Cabinet Meeting, Mr Lincoln read out his Slave Emancipation. 'I want no advice,' he warned his advisers. Yet when his Chancellor, Salmon P. Chase, hinted that 'there ought to be something about God at the end,' Lincoln hesitated. . . . 'Put it in,' he drawled at last. 'It won't hurt it!' According to his law-partner, Herndon, 'Mr Lincoln was an infidel, and so died.' Yet in the present election we have seen strong objection taken to Mr Alfred Smith, because he is a Roman Catholic. It is well known that no man of that Christian creed has ever become President of the United States, notwithstanding Jefferson's pride in religious freedom, and the present fantastic range of cults in the United States. Garfield was a Disciple of Christ; Roosevelt was 'Reformed Dutch'; Taft a Unitarian; Harding a Baptist; Coolidge is a Congregationalist; and Hoover is a Quaker.

It is hard to see how great leaders can emerge under the present electoral system, which is at the mercy of an oligarchy of Party wire-pullers. The foremost thinkers agree that under present conditions it is impossible to secure a truly democratic government. Roosevelt was an 'accident' of succession, Wilson a miscalculation of the Party bosses, in whose mazy manœuvres even the suave Ambassador Bryce went badly astray in his statements. Perhaps one-third of the electorate voted in 1924 for Coolidge. Even Lincoln's election in 1860 was a 'minority,' and so were both of Wilson's. The fact is that the

American Constitution, far from ordaining government by a popular majority, actually permits government by any President who has been duly elected 'according to established forms.' Thus in the disputed contest of 1876 an Electoral Commission gave the Presidency to Hayes on strictly formal lines, seeing that his party had a majority of *one*! The usual charges of wholesale fraud were then made. Serious riots broke out; and to this day many contend that Samuel Tilden was really elected President.

Strange to say, although the Seventy-first Congress will also be elected on Nov. 6, the present régime will continue to raise revenue, voting huge appropriations and passing laws until March 4 next. This is the so-called 'Lame Duck' Session which is peculiar to the Federal Assembly, and is unknown in all the other forty-eight Parliaments of the Union. And not before March 4 will the President-elect be sworn into his high office by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. This traditional ceremony takes place on a platform in front of the central portico of the Capitol, and is a public festival of great pomp. James Monroe was the first to take oath in the open air 'with singlemindedness of purpose, and humility of spirit.' Jackson drove to the scene in a phaeton made out of warship timbers; his partisans looted and wrecked the White House, both inside and out, to manifest their delight over 'Old Hickory's' triumph. Thirty thousand people greeted Lincoln in 1861. Hayes took a preliminary oath in secret, lest violence should break out on his public appearance from the followers of his rival, Tilden.

Cleveland's second inaugural took place in a bitter snowstorm. Taft's was a circus parade, with that huge man's trousers carried on a pole! Harding's was haunted by the drawn and tragic face of Wilson, who was even then a dying man. Andrew Johnson was the only President ever impeached for 'high crimes and misdemeanours.' He was tried in the Senate Chamber on March 13, 1868, and escaped conviction by only one vote.

Just north of the Senate is the President's Room, where Bills are signed and other executive business transacted. Here Lincoln penned at midnight an historic

dispatch to General Grant, forbidding the conference which Lee had proposed—'unless it be for the capitulation of General Lee's Army.' In the President's Room also the unfortunate King Kalakaua of Hawaii and his dusky suite held a reception of the Senators in a body. His island kingdom was formally annexed by the United States in 1898. In that same year came the war with Spain, which deprived her of all her possessions in the Caribbean and Pacific.

It is the foreign policy of the Thirty-first President and the Seventy-first Congress which is of immediate interest to us at this hour; and the fluctuation of this policy is clearly seen in the messages and inaugural speeches of recent years. The farmers were against Mr Hoover, because he regulated the price of grain during the World War. But a graver objection to that massive man was that he had 'a European mind.' That infection is fast spreading over there; whilst over here, America's year-long 'assault upon War' makes Europe wonder what factors are forthcoming from her side, beyond the wistful hope of William James's philosophy?

We all know what France thinks. Berlin cartoonists show President Coolidge preaching peace from the turret of a battleship, with smoking bombs 'on the side,' and a Bible and olive-branch beneath his hortatory finger. Even so earnest a pacifist as Viscount Cecil has come out plainly on this point. 'If her traditions,' he says of the United States, 'her geographical position and mentality, compel her to confine herself to concerting declarations, instead of co-operating in the establishment—and if need be the defence—of a world-system in which War shall be quite absent, and armaments nearly so, then the rest of the world must go that road as best it may without her.'

Still more pointedly does Lord Cecil put a question to the Washington hierarchy for which all Europe awaits the reply: 'If Americans to-day care for the great principle of World-Peace and Disarmament, as Lincoln cared for the principle of the Union—can they for ever resist the conclusion, forced remorselessly on Lincoln, that an order based on a common contract must be defended in emergencies by other means than affirmations of belief in it, however eloquent?'

America's Foreign Minister is very eloquent indeed. 'The purpose of the United States,' he declares, 'is to eliminate War as a factor in international relations.' As well as Treaties, there must be 'an aroused public conscience.' 'The peoples must enjoy a peaceful mind.' . . . 'The United States should not be backward.' . . . 'Arbitration,' 'Conciliation,' and so on. We would all 'renounce' famine, accidents, disease, and other evils if we could. But these recur all down the ages. And causes of war fall upon us out of the clearest sky—as in 1914—with ominous presage from nowhere in big headlines of our morning papers. Therefore until all the armed might of that unique continent-nation is pledged in sanctions, together with her endless resources in material and money, Mr Kellogg's proposals must belong to what Ernest Bloch used to call 'Der geist der Utopie,' as did all those of pacifist American leaders, from Jefferson to Wilson.

Here we have the outstanding problem of the coming Administration. 'It is a very perilous thing,' President Wilson laid down, 'to determine a foreign policy in terms of national interests.' But up to now all American proposals abroad have been addressed to the electorate at home in the veiled name of 'Prosperity.' Notes sent to European governments are primarily directed at the domestic voter. The remedy for this is the political education of the people, which I heard Mr Coolidge urge at an annual luncheon of the Associated Press at the Waldorf in New York, as a means of enabling citizens 'to form sound judgments when once the facts have been presented to them clearly and without prejudice.'

This process is to-day in full blast from sea to sea; how long it will take no man can say; for the obstacles—racial, political, and social—are many and well-entrenched. A constructive foreign policy, it is felt, must be permanent and continuous. That of the United States must be non-partisan; not framed in purely domestic politics, or liable to be made a party-tool of ephemeral advantage. This is vital, since it is plain that with sweeping changes recurring every four years in the Executive branch of Government, and the possibility of even more frequent changes in the Legislative branch, there can be no continuity at all if America's

foreign relations are to be used as a mere pawn in a petty political game.

At no time in America's history has such an opportunity for fearless leadership offered as is the case to-day. The call has been sounded by the venerable head of Columbia University, Dr Nicholas M. Butler: 'Our national need is the need of a great intellectual hero—a poet or a philosopher, who can win the hearts of the whole people.' Why should not a statesman of this calibre reach the White House without the ignominious aid of Bossism and the ethics of Mark Hanna: 'If you want anything in politics, go out and buy it!' He would defy all the outworn canons of a narrow and parochial routine in that spirit of *bene ausus vana contemnere*, which Livy holds to be the priceless secret of supreme strategic genius. He would proclaim a second Revolution, surmounting hostility at home such as beset the First President, who had far more half-bricks than hosannas in his victorious march. He would light the way to a 'Manifest Destiny' nobler than any preached by the Polks and Douglasses in those early days of imperial thrust towards the westward ocean. A mighty place in the world's history, as well as in that of the United States, awaits such a leader as this. What is more to the point, he will have an immense and generous populace behind him when—as President Coolidge suggests—'the facts have been presented to them clearly, and without prejudice.' That such a leader of worth will arrive to aid us I have no doubt at all.

'No fabled Merlin, son of mist,
And brother to the twilight; but a man
Who in a time terrifically real
Is real as the time! . . .'

IGNATIUS PHAYRE.

Art. 3.—RECENT PROGRESS IN SUNLIGHT KNOWLEDGE.

THE popular conception of sunlight as nature's healer has thrilled the imagination and led to an indiscreet abuse of ultra-violet irradiation, which should be entrusted to a clinician who is specially trained to understand the correct application of the treatment. Propaganda and 'commercialised medicine' have found a fruitful soil in light therapy, while masseurs and 'medical electricians' have suddenly assumed knowledge of healing in the use of powerful and powerless sources of ultra-violet rays. Consequently recent developments both in the therapeutic and technical uses of the rays have been received with considerable scepticism and valuable researches entirely disregarded.

Sun treatment is actually one of the oldest known forms of healing, but present work is the product of this century entirely. Our knowledge of the sun's rays in plant life has led to the progressive development of actinotherapy, which is now as important in modern medicine as X-ray and radium therapy, while the application to industrial uses is of continually increasing importance. Dr Albert Eidinow records how Prof. Niels R. Finsen of Copenhagen was the pioneer in the development of apparatus to generate ultra-violet light artificially, while later Rollier, Gauvain, and Pugh have established its value. In 1919 Prof. K. Huldchinsky of Berlin successfully cured rickets with irradiation from the mercury vapour vacuum quartz lamp, and his results were confirmed by Hess and other workers. Webster showed that direct exposure of animals to ultra-violet radiation protected them against rickets, and Steinbock proved that irradiated foodstuffs had the same anti-rachitic property. The anti-rachitic factor was traced to the fats and sterols, and later workers in America and Rosenheim in England showed that vitamin D, which is necessary for bone building and the prevention of rickets in children, is formed by the action of ultra-violet rays on ergosterol. This chemical substance, which is present in cod-liver oil and in the superficial layers of the skin, is extremely potent, and a daily dose of 1/80,000 of a mg. of irradiated ergosterol protects

young experimental rats against rickets when fed on a diet deficient in vitamin D. The rays which activate ergosterol are limited to the region 3200-2500 A.U. (Angstrom Units), and excessive irradiation destroys its anti-rachitic properties. Hausser and Vahle, using equal intensities, have shown that the erythema-producing rays of the mercury vapour lamp are nominal at 2961 A.U., and Prof. Leonard Hill has proved that the biological action of sunlight is due to the rays 3300-2990 A.U.

This brief outline of the principal discoveries in the evolution of the science of light brings us naturally to the logical developments which have been made in the last two or three years. Ultra-violet light has been used extensively in the treatment of specific cases of disease and very satisfactory results have been obtained. All forms of rickets and many forms of tuberculosis readily respond to irradiation, while some cases of rheumatism and other muscular complaints are benefited also. The most remarkable therapeutic use, however, is general irradiations of the whole body given as a tonic to maintain health at the highest standard of efficiency. These radiations are applied extensively in hospitals, sanatoria, and private homes, but of even greater interest is the provision of apparatus for such treatment in many factories and workshops. The most noteworthy is the installation of a sunlight clinic at the Sherwood Colliery, Mansfield, to enable miners to enjoy the beneficial rays of sunshine, which because of the nature of their employment would otherwise be unobtainable.

This clinic was opened less than two years ago with the object, to quote the originator of the project, Lieut-Col G. S. Hutchison, D.S.O., M.C., 'of demonstrating to the nation at large, and particularly to industrialists and to those employed in the milk trade, the factory, at the loom, the bench, and in the office, that diseases and ailments which beset our industrial population owing to the scarcity of natural sunlight, actual and due to industrial occupation, may be arrested, prevented, and, in time, wholly eradicated by artificial sunlight treatment.' An experiment conducted at the clinic shows remarkable proof of the value of this method for maintaining health.

During the months of December to February last, records were made of the increase in weight and height of fifty boys who were periodically exposed to ultra-violet light. At the end of the period the results were compared with those of fifty other boys of similar age who did not receive treatment. It was found that the former boys showed an average increase in weight of 4 lb. 6.28 ozs. and in height of 0.762 inch, while the others averaged only 2 lb. 10.24 ozs. increase in weight and 0.5 inch in height. Though the irradiated boys' dietary was unchanged, they showed a remarkable air of brightness and vitality compared with those who were not treated.

Experiments conducted at the Cadby Hall works of Messrs Lyons and Co., Ltd., by Mr R. St C. Brooke, the firm's psychologist, and Dr C. S. Myers, F.R.S., of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, have demonstrated that the effects of ultra-violet radiation on workers show great individual differences. The tests were made on twelve girls, all of good class, and living in good surroundings. Some, however, were suffering from colds and minor ailments and did not appear to react to the rays to any extent, while in others 6 per cent. increased output was recorded.

The value of sunlight in maintaining health has been proved irrefutably, but it would seem that there is a very wide range of circumstances and conditions upon which the efficacy of industrial radiations is dependent. Many investigations are being made to determine some standard in this matter; and when the researches are complete a considerable advance will have been made toward the eradication of many of the diseases which afflict workers in industrial centres throughout the country.

Medicine has received enormous benefit from ultra-violet radiations. Discussion on the treatment of specific diseases is outside the scope of the present article, but it may be mentioned that diseases of the eye, ear, and throat are amongst those responding to treatment, while many metabolic and dermatological disorders can be cured with facility. Precisely how the rays produce their effects is not fully understood, but it is considered that the biologically active rays promote a bactericidal substance within the irradiated tissue, which is carried

to the blood stream and so increases the bactericidal properties of the blood.

The promotion of plant and animal health is a further development in the use of ultra-violet light which has recently received considerable impetus consequent upon the discovery of the value to human health. Two methods are being employed, one to use sunlight lamps and the other to employ the ultra-violet rays from the sun to the maximum extent. Study of the British Meteorological records will show that Britain receives a very considerable amount of sunlight, and the trouble is not with the supply, but in the ways in which it is used. Smoke pollution of the atmosphere prevents a large proportion of the sun's rays from ever reaching the earth at all, and a recent report of the Medical Research Council states that 'the acetone blue gauge shows that, on the average, two-thirds of the ultra-violet rays are cut off by smoke and dust pollution of the atmosphere in the City of London.' The widespread use of window glasses which cannot transmit these rays effectively screens the remainder from all buildings not entirely exposed. Naturally these conditions have an equally detrimental effect on human health, but in Britain at least far greater publicity has been given to the effects on animals and plants than to the excellent sun schools and hospitals at Leasowe, Alton, Hayling Island, and elsewhere where the pioneer researches of Dr Rollier at Leysin are being practised with great success.

The invention of a true glass by Mr F. E. Lamp-lough, which is capable of transmitting a very high proportion of the sun's ultra-violet rays is responsible for the more widespread application of these rays to healing. Various other materials, not always true glasses, but often composed of a cellulose-acetate compound reinforced by a fine mesh of galvanised wire, are now available, and these are being used extensively in greenhouses, solaria, and the like where visibility is not essential.

The experiments conducted by the Royal Zoological Society of London in the use of sunlight to maintain animal health have aroused widespread interest. Reporting on the work, Dr P. Chalmers Mitchell, Secretary to the Society, states 'that the use of Vitaglass and

ultra-violet light from electric bulbs, has notably improved the general health and vitality of the apes and monkeys and the carnivora to which it has been applied.' The lion house, the monkey house, and the new reptile house have each been fitted with windows made of vitaglass and the results obtained have been extremely satisfactory. For special purposes Tungsten lamps have been used also, but many difficulties have yet to be overcome before the same measure of success is obtained. Prof. Hill has demonstrated how excess of ultra-violet light is definitely harmful when applied to man, and in the case of animals it would appear to be extremely dangerous. Several birds died from too much sunlight, and a very short dose was fatal to several reptiles, while a rickety young elephant was subjected to a much shorter dose than would be given to man, yet the animal was badly burned. This question of dosage is a matter requiring much more investigation, for there are great differences between each breed of animals and also every patient of each breed. Until such data are available it is not possible for ultra-violet lamps to be used generally on farms and in stables with any degree of safety, except under expert guidance.

H.M. the King's filly 'Scuttle,' the Two Thousand Guineas winner, is one of several well-known racehorses which receive period sunlight treatment, while the Army Remount Depôt use quartz lamps exclusively. Many greyhound kennels also have apparatus installed and good results are claimed in each case. At the Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine a colony of six marmosets have lived happily for about three years. Each day they receive sunlight treatment, and about two years ago a young marmoset was born. The animal has received doses of sunlight from birth, and is now the largest and heaviest of the colony, and what is even more interesting, it is the only marmoset ever reared to maturity in this country. This rather lowly tribe of monkeys are favourite pets, but very subject to rickets in Britain, and a large number succumb. As the Lister colony shows no trace whatever of the disease it is a remarkable tribute to the efficacy of ultra-violet light in maintaining animal health.

Animals are protected by a thick covering of hair

which it is not always possible to remove, and in treatment with ultra-violet light artificially produced, there is a great hindrance to the penetration of the rays. By continually rubbing up this hair whilst the exposure is being made penetration is assisted considerably, but the length of the exposure must be increased accordingly. The hair is less dense under the thighs, and treatment so directed is often more effective, while to give the animal a good wash is also of considerable help. For protective purposes animals have been provided with a much thicker skin than man, nor do they wash as frequently. Because of this a thick layer of epithelium and grease is formed which acts as a waterproof covering and also as a dense screen to the rays, and in some cases it is necessary to increase the exposure. Apart from general tonic treatment, alopecia, eczema, and rickets respond readily to irradiation, while it is also useful in pneumonia, catarrhal fevers, and to some extent in chorea.

All light is measured in terms of Angstrom units, one A.U. being the length of the longest X-ray or one ten thousandth of a millimetre. Visible light ranges from 7500 A.U. to 3000 A.U. Artificially produced light differs from the sun's rays inasmuch as the therapeutic value of artificial light is due to the rays 3000 A.U. to 2500 A.U., and these rays are absent in sunlight. M. Jean Lecarme has reported to the French Academy of Sciences on the results of experiments in the effects of the sun's light, using a method of measuring the intensity of the ultra-violet rays depending on the decomposition of oxalic acid in the presence of uranyl sulphate as a catalyst: measurements have been carried out at various altitudes, the highest being at Mont Blanc observatory (4350 metres). It was noted during these experiments that whilst the solar radiation produced a rapid decomposition of the oxalic acid, the effects due to the light of the mercury arc were scarcely sensitive. From this it would appear that solar ultra-violet energy is greater than that of the ordinary mercury arc, although the biological effects are less intense. The remarkably satisfactory results obtained by the use of ultra-violet light transmitting glasses readily supports this theory, and as well as in hospitals and private homes, many stock-keepers

and farmers are using the new method. The greyhound kennels at Denham, Bucks, have been fitted with vitaglass throughout, while Sir Richard Brooke, Bart, has had the windows of loose boxes at his stud at Abberley, Worcester, glazed with this glass to test the effects on his horses' health, and as the value of this method becomes more widely known it will be used much more extensively. Some proof of the scale on which this glass alone is being used, and there are several other materials, is given by the fact that a train completely freighted with glass leaves St Helens, where 'vitaglass' is made, every day.

In plant culture some very valuable work has been carried out at Kew. Vitaglass was used, and it has been established that seeds germinated twenty-four hours before those grown under ordinary glass; and after three weeks the vitaglass plants were sturdier and of deeper green than the others. Prof. Leonard Hill has stated that the use of such materials may 'profoundly alter greenhouse practice,' and there is no doubt whatever that when the British market gardener adopts such methods he will be able to compete on more equal terms with continental importers by hastening on his plants and selling these before the market is glutted with foreign produce. Tomatoes which receive the maximum amount of rays by this means ripen in advance of those grown in the usual manner, while lettuces are stronger, with bigger hearts and of a richer shade of green. Messrs. Toogood and Sons, the well-known Southampton seed merchants, are carrying out several tests under vitaglass on small seedlings, both flower and vegetable, to study the effects on 'damping off.' They are following actual rapidity of growth with a perennial rye-grass test. At Westfield College bedding plants under the glass are blooming much earlier, and the work of the Royal Botanic Society on the propagation of plants aided by the sun's ultra-violet light is most interesting.

Lemna minor, the well-known lesser duckweed, was used for the experiments, and thirty plants were placed in each of two bowls of equal size, filled with water. One bowl was covered with vitaglass and the other with ordinary glass of the same size and thickness, and the two were placed together outside the museum in

such a position that no sunlight could reach them until after midday. To admit air and decrease condensation the glasses were tilted slightly on one side. After twenty days the two bowls were examined, and in the one covered with vitaglass fifty-four plants were found, while in the other there were only forty-one, thus proving that by the aid of ultra-violet rays propagation had been more than doubled.

These tests are admittedly only tentative experiments, but as is pointed out by the curator of the Gardens, Mr J. L. North, the satisfactory results obtained with a primitive plant like *Lemna* indicate to some extent the developments which may be expected with plants of more advanced type with a greater amount of foliage to absorb the sun's rays. Recent demonstrations in greenhouses tend to support this theory, and while ultra-violet light is not successful in every case at present, yet further developments will be of corresponding importance from both a scientific and economic standpoint.

The irradiation of foodstuffs is the most important of recent technical researches, and some are already being marketed with success. A well-known north-country bakery irradiates all the bread, while all milk is so treated in hospitals before used, both to increase the food value and prevent contamination by means of the sterilisation properties. It is also claimed that sterilisation increases the food value in certain cases. Butter-oils, cod-liver oil, and others containing anti-rachitic vitamins emit a yellow fluorescence, while inactive oils such as olive oil and pea-nut oil show white. When the latter have been exposed to strong ultra-violet light they show yellow, the colour deepening according to the intensity of the rays, and this is said to prove the value of such irradiations. Recent means have been derived for the mass production of irradiated dried milk. This is a product desiccated by the revolving double cylinder process, and it is exposed to the rays of a mercury vapour lamp in a manner which permits practically the entire surface of any given particle of milk solids to remain within the activating influence of the rays for an estimated period of about one minute. There is no evidence of a disagreeable flavour or odour commonly

found in milk products exposed to ultra-violet irradiation for a long time, and the usual keeping qualities of the product are apparently not impaired. The sterilisation properties of the rays are also valuable in the radiation of butter, which is passed on an endless band before a mercury vapour lamp. Though there is a slight change in chemical composition there is but little difference in colour. In America the water used in the manufacture of 'Canada Dry' ginger ales is sterilised. After being drawn from the Hudson River, the water is first cleared of suspended solids by felt and sand filters, and then exposed to a battery of ultra-violet lamps which are capable of dealing with 20,000 gals per hour. The food value of canned meats, fish, and dried fruits may also be increased by this means in the near future, and even now the ways in which the rays are used in the preparation of food products can be multiplied almost indefinitely.

The discovery of the phenomenon of fluorescence has led to many remarkable developments in technical processes in industry. American scientists have stated that every substance is capable of fluorescing and will show a different coloured fluorescence. The entire truth of the statement has yet to be proved, but a very large number of materials do possess this remarkable property. Ultra-violet light is invisible, and when the rays are generated artificially it is quite possible to eliminate, by means of specially constructed filters, all the visible light produced. When the invisible rays of ultra-violet strike a substance capable of fluorescing they are changed into visible light of longer wave-length and a bright glow is seen, the colour of which varies according to the substances examined. In medicine, in the arts, in science, and in industry this phenomenon is being used extensively, and seemingly miraculous results are obtained with facility.

Criminology is assisted considerably by using filtered ultra-violet light. Alterations to documents, no matter how carefully they have been made, are found immediately, because the inks used fluoresce differently. Similarly, real and imitation gems can be detected, for while diamonds glow like beautiful blue lamps, false ones are lifeless and dull. Arsenic will fluoresce

also, and in a recent murder trial in Berlin such a test was admitted as evidence for the prosecution. Scotland Yard and the Bank of England both have an apparatus available for making tests of this kind, and a well-known authority has declared that for this purpose ultra-violet lamps are more serviceable than a microscope.

The health of silkworms may not be considered a very important matter, but upon it is dependent the quality and quantity of the thread produced. Ultra-violet light is now used to test whether the worms are healthy or not. The secreting organ of a healthy silkworm gives a white fluorescence, while the blood shows a yellow one. Any variation from this denotes an unhealthy insect. A possibility of the future may be an adaptation of this method to the human body also.

Students of history have found the rays invaluable in deciphering palimpsests. In olden days a manuscript was not destroyed when time had rendered the document worthless owing to the labour and cost of manufacture. Instead, it was carefully cleaned by mechanical or chemical means and used a second and even a third time. In many cases the original script would be of far greater value to historical research than the superimposed and visible text, but hitherto this material has been unavailable. By using filtered ultra-violet rays it is possible not only to see the original writings, but also to obtain a photograph, for the tints and dyes used in the first text fluoresce differently from the later writing and also from the parchment itself. This method was perfected by Prof. G. R. Kogel of Vienna, and in a photograph which he has taken the overlying text appears as if in outline type, white lettering with a thin black edge, and underneath can be seen quite clearly the dark grey lettering of the older script. While imperfections due to the varied action of the cleaning processes must be expected, it is seldom that there are any difficulties in deciphering due to visibility.

Textiles are tested for mildew and bacterial damage, while like, but actually different, fabrics can be identified. Eggs are examined for fertility, because sterile ones fluoresce differently from fertile ones, while in dentistry the rays are used to detect decayed teeth. The ways in which fluorescence is being applied and the value of this

method to industry and technical research are incalculable, and descriptions of the many interesting uses could be continued indefinitely.

It is quite possible to take a photograph in total darkness. The camera is focussed on to the desired object and the line of the lamp beam similarly directed. Visible light from the lamp is filtered away and all other illuminations are extinguished. A simple instantaneous exposure is made with the camera, and after development the negative is fully exposed and equal to one taken by magnesium or other artificial illuminant. This is possible because the photographic plate is especially sensitive to the rays, so much so that visible light can be dispensed with altogether. An adaptation of this method is used in the making of microphotographs in metallurgy. Difficulties are experienced in focussing, which has to be done by means of a fluorescence screen and must be very exact. The advantage of the method lies in the fact that some of the constituents of steel which look very much alike when photographed by ordinary light absorb ultra-violet light selectively, and so appear sharply differentiated when a micrograph is made under this illumination.

The rapidity of many chemical reactions is greatly increased by the action of ultra-violet light, some chemical actions going on exceedingly slowly in the absence of light, but proceeding with explosive violence under ultra-violet light of short wave-length. In those industries employing chemicals largely, enormous benefit has been gained by expediting chemical processes and the sterilisation properties are also being used extensively. Recent developments in our knowledge of the action of ultra-violet light have been followed by results of great scientific and economic importance. Instead of being only a method used medicinally on the treatment of disease or even a valuable therapeutic cure, ultra-violet light has now become a most potent factor in national life, and its ramifications are continually increasing with extraordinary rapidity.

LEONARD V. DODDS.

Art. 4.—THE SUBSTANCE OF GREEK TRAGEDY.

1. *Aristotle. The Poetics.* Loeb Classical Series. Heinemann, 1927.
2. *Tragedy.* By F. L. Lucas. Hogarth Press, 1928.

FIRE and Time's 'injurious hand' have spared for our consideration a very minute part of the mass of Greek literary criticism. The great centuries of Greece were singularly free from any theorising about the principles or meaning of art and literature, for the artist was the humble and unquestioned servant of the state, active at the great public festivals or in the adornment and building of the city's temples or for occasions of social union and enjoyment. It was only when the vitality of the city-state began to fail in the fourth century B.C. and disintegrating forces made themselves painfully evident in public life, that Plato accused Art of being one of those forces and preached the necessity of putting it in leading-strings. The fourth century was the first to hear the deceptive and distracting message of Art for Art's sake with all its isolating influence on the individual, and to witness the detachment of literature and sculpture from the service of the state, and their transformation into a grace or solace of private life. The Middle Comedy and the sculpture of Praxiteles mark the first stage in that journey by which Art passed from being the common enjoyment of the whole people in national theatre or temple into the secret delight of the solitary reader or the private collector. Art may still serve to adorn temples and amuse a public gathered in the theatre of Dionysus, but the dignity of solemn and serious feeling, which sprang from its union with the life of the state and religion, had for ever passed.

In that wonderful outpouring of a life's experience and reflexion known as the *Laws*, Plato is still buoyed up with the thought that the small city-state is a possibility in Greek politics. While he was writing, the power of Macedon was already established and threatening Greece in unmistakable fashion. And Aristotle, who died little more than twenty years after Plato, still clings to the outworn forms of Greek political life,

summarising the achievements of the past for the instruction of future generations. And as in the great philosophical treatises he traces the development of the Hellenic mind in ethics and politics and metaphysics so in the 'Poetics' he reflects upon the course of drama and formulates certain rules and practices which the dramatist and tragedian in particular—for we no longer have his criticism of comedy—must observe if his work is to be successful. Even if the thought came to him that Greek tragedy had attained the true fullness of growth, he gives no sign of recognising that it was already moribund, and that even in his own lifetime and for some time before, the plays publicly performed at Athens were either bloodless creatures formed of artificial rhetoric, or tragedies from the great past briefly galvanised by the art of the theatre into a second life.

Brief and fragmentary as Aristotle's book on poetry is, it is the only piece of criticism on a definite form of art, which has come down to us from antiquity, composed by one who had spoken with men who had seen and known something of the greatness of Athens in the fifth century B.C. Dionysius, Demetrius, and the author of the treatise on the Sublime are separated by centuries from the works which they discuss. Literary criticism had become a business in itself, and the feeling for the relationship of literature and life was hardly present to their minds. They concentrate too much on the verbal or formal perfection of the Greek writers, and break up that original unity of life and art which is the precious and unique quality of the creative artistic spirit in the fifth century B.C.

The preservation of Aristotle's criticism on any particular form of art is a piece of good fortune, and our sense of that good fortune is tremendously increased when the object of his criticism is Greek Tragedy. For Tragedy which has attained such an astonishing position in European literature is the peculiar creation of the Greeks. Epic and Lyric poetry are found in the writings of the East. Architecture and sculpture achieved magnificent form long before the golden age of Athens. Tragic drama seems the distinctive flower of the Greek genius into which all their other literary forms were gathered together, so that it contains the splendours of

epic narrative and the varying moods of lyric inspiration, blended into a vaster and deeper harmony than any one of those forms could achieve by themselves, the symphonic poem of life. After the repulse of Persia from Greece in 479 Tragedy becomes the supreme form of literary art in Athens. He who reads the plays of Sophocles can hardly avoid feeling how natural it is that the youthful energy and lyric flights of an earlier and youthful age should pass away into this mature form of summer beauty. Tragedy is the final experience of life as something serious. Epic and Lyric poetry may be conscious of that seriousness, but they are concerned chiefly with the slighter and more transient experiences of life, which are obscured or pass away with the years.

Tradition relates that Aristotle wrote the 'Politics' after a preliminary study of a hundred and fifty-eight constitutions. How many tragedies he had seen or read before writing the 'Poetics' it is impossible to conjecture. During his long residence in Athens he must have seen a very large number performed and have supplemented that experience by reading. We know that the three great tragedians wrote over three hundred dramas in all, and when we recall the many other writers of the fifth and fourth centuries, some of them most prolific—Astydamas, for instance, is credited with two hundred and forty plays—the full roll of tragedies must have been immense, more than any critic, however voracious his appetite, could possibly digest. If his reading was extensive, Aristotle makes no parade of it in the 'Poetics.' In addition to Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, he mentions by name seven or eight other dramatists and about a dozen plays by the great Three which are no longer extant. And in harmony with this simple list of references and quotations is the simplicity of dramatic principle and structure which his criticism brings to light and approves as the most successful. Indeed, so simple are his requirements for a good tragedy, that it is hard to avoid the surmise that Attic tragedy except in the hands of a very great master must have been a barren and uninteresting flat, the rehearsal with monotonous reiteration of an oppressive theme.

In reading the 'Poetics' it is well to remember that Aristotle's purpose in writing is not only to set the

criticism of tragedy on a sound basis, but also to help dramatic poets to write successful tragedies.) Frequent references to Sophocles' *'Oedipus Tyrannus'* make it certain that he regarded that work as a model tragedy, and the general tenour of his criticism shows that he felt Euripides at his best to be a more 'tragic' but a less artistic dramatist than Sophocles. Modern criticism agrees with his estimate of Euripides, taking 'tragic' in the sense of 'pathetic,' but finds it much harder to understand the scarcity and frigidity of his references to Æschylus. Aristotle seems to have regarded Æschylus in much the same manner as many critics in the 19th century regarded the so-called 'primitives' in Italian painting as being incomplete but necessary stages towards the midday splendour of 16th-century painting. No critic can free himself altogether from the general ideas and prejudices of his own day. The language, the long-drawn choric songs, and the super-human and portentous elements in the Æschylean drama were as alien from the spirit of the fourth century as the poetry of Keats was from the minds of the Edinburgh reviewers; (while dramatically the lack of action and absence of plot—the touchstone of dramatic success in Aristotle's view—would make him relegate Æschylus to the position, which he seems to occupy in the 'Poetics,' of an important innovator and pioneer in the development of tragedy.) Strictly speaking, the magnificence of Æschylus' moral and religious ideas, the splendours of his imagination, may be said to fall outside the limits of æsthetic analysis which Aristotle has imposed upon himself, but it is hard to avoid the feeling that here again the real reason of the omission lies in the insensibility of the fourth century, in which Aristotle too shared to some extent, to that grandeur of vision from which Æschylus' tragedies proceed.

Nothing could be simpler or more comprehensive than Aristotle's definition of Tragedy in the sixth chapter of the 'Poetics.' It is the 'representation of an action that is heroic, complete, and of a certain magnitude—by means of language enriched with all kind of ornament, each used separately in the different parts of the play; it represents men in action and does not use narrative, and through pity and fear it effects

relief to these and similar emotions.' This definition includes, without any pressing or stretching of its terms, dramas as different in form and spirit as the 'Suppliants' of Æschylus, the 'Œdipus Tyrannus' and 'Philoctetes' of Sophocles, and those late plays of Euripides in which the heroic and serious atmosphere is properly maintained. Yet the explanations and amplifications which Aristotle gives in later chapters contradict the practice of the earlier age. His advocacy of the unhappy ending does not rest upon the Sophoclean form of Tragedy, and his insistence upon the great importance of a well-constructed plot means something very different from the grandiose movement of an Æschylean trilogy. It would seem as though his definition was based upon the drama of the fifth century while his more detailed criticism took into account only fourth-century and contemporary work when the love of classification and sharply defined types had invaded the world of literature, and the development of the Aristophanic comedy into the more sedate comedy of manners had compelled Tragedy to take as its distinguishing mark a theme with an unhappy ending. It seems quite possible that the 'Rhesus' affords an admirable example of a tragedy from the fourth century, satisfying the formal principles which Aristotle lays down for the dramatists of his own day. It has a well-constructed plot ending in disaster, and by its weakness in the study of character it agrees with the criticism which he makes on the tragedies 'of our younger men.' It is correct in construction but intolerably frigid and devoid of emotional power.

Athenæus records a remark of Æschylus that his plays were slices from the great banquet of Homer, and we might say in turn that the tragedies of the fifth century are slices from the great banquet of life, invested with heroic dignity and presented as a unity. The action may end in disaster or death, or it may pass through suffering to final happiness. The trilogies of Æschylus move in a vast progression through sorrow to reconciliation. Of the seven surviving plays of Sophocles three end in happiness or reconciliation, for the 'Œdipus Coloneus' with its mysterious translation of Œdipus in extreme old age can hardly be said to end in unhappiness. The tears which Antigone and Ismene

shed are natural. The common feature of all that drama is its seriousness, its unity, and isolation of action, and the presence of sorrow and suffering experienced by the characters as the result of their actions. It is those actions giving rise to sorrow and suffering which cause the spectators to thrill with pity and fear. And here we pass to the final sentence of Aristotle's definition which has caused such endless and unprofitable discussion. A tragedy represents men acting and suffering and perhaps dying, though suffering alone is enough to rouse those emotions of pity for undeserved misfortune and fear, for men like ourselves, which the successful tragedy excites. In that remark Aristotle implies the identity or the consubstantiality of the life which actors represent with that of the audience. It is a life that differs in degree but not in kind, following the same laws and rhythm as that of ordinary humanity.

We can most easily realise all that is implied in this unity of the substance of dramatic and ordinary life, if we consider the relationship of an Elizabethan or a modern audience to a play of Shakespeare. No one would impugn the truth of Shakespeare's representation of the facts of life. The life which he depicts does not differ in any essential manner from that of Tragedy in the fifth century B.C., though his form of it is more complicated in plot and in variety of character. But the audience feel and believe that there are other values and forces active in life of which Shakespeare takes no account. The spiritual and religious consciousness cannot be refused its right of interpretation, and though the spectator feels that the dramatist presents the facts of life as they are by themselves, with convincing truth, he knows that that is not all, and that there are other things in heaven and earth by which he can interpret the sorrows of existence. Those values and beliefs which Shakespeare disregards in the interests of his mode of dramatic presentation, may be for the spectator the most important or precious facts in life. Shakespearean Tragedy has become an artistic spectacle taking place in a world of the artist's making, which cuts the world of daily experience but is not concentric with it. Tragedy in the fifth century B.C. is concentric with life in its purposes and limitations and beliefs, and though it

represents themes from a distant heroic past, the continuity of that past with the spectator's present, and its significance for him, is accepted without question.

But though there is this fundamental similarity of 'tragic' and ordinary life in the fifth century B.C. it is a similarity with a difference. The difference comes from a plot taken from the heroic life of the sacred past, from the strangeness of the costume and utterance of the characters, from their increased capacity to act and suffer, from the employment of dance and song. The peculiar pleasure of tragedy must reside in this union of similarity with difference, for otherwise it is hard to understand why a people should ever have come to enjoy seeing represented on the stage the sorrows and sufferings of existence. (In the final unity of a Greek tragedy we witness for once the harmonious fusion of artistic and religious influences to effect what Aristotle calls at one place 'the appropriate pleasure' of tragedy, at another 'the purgation of pity and fear,' and which we should be more inclined to call the pleasure arising from a sense of reconciliation with life, based upon a larger and clearer vision of things.)

Mr Lucas, following Bywater and other commentators, takes the *katharsis* of Aristotle's definition in a medical sense as purgation or discharge of ~~what is in excess~~. The purpose of a medical purgation is to drive out an excess of offending matter in the system and to re-establish the normal healthy activity of the body. The result is felt not as a pleasure localised in any particular part of the body but as a general sense of well-being and health. Similarly the kathartic effect of the tragic spectacle is to purge the emotions of fear and pity, not to remove them altogether, but to reduce them so much as will restore the normal emotional equilibrium and give that steadiness and security of nerve, that harmony of body and soul, which are necessary for the successful conduct of life. The effect is felt both in the theatre and afterwards as a renewal and confirmation of the individual's will to live and act and face the trials and bitternesses of ordinary life. To use another medical metaphor, the tragic spectacle worked on the audience like a tonic reviving their belief in the value of life.

This purgative or tonic effect of Tragedy depends on

much more than a deft arrangement of piteous and fearful incidents. Aristotle insists so strongly on the primary importance of plot that one feels at times that his ideal tragedy might be little more than a well-cooked melodrama. A careful reading of his complete definition precludes such an interpretation, though the condensed form in which he has expressed himself, the brevity of his comment on some points or his silence on what may have seemed too obvious to need comment, render it very liable to distortion or misunderstanding. Much else beside a good plot went to produce the final effect of Tragedy. Firstly, there was the tremendous spectacular power, the impact of tragedy after tragedy with its tale of pity and fear falling upon the spectator's eye and mind. Then there was the poetic or æsthetic influence, the element of beauty in it, built up by song and dance and language, and the orderly spacing of the dramatist's design into which were woven the solemn influences of heroic legend and religion so that, under the spell of this art, the spectator accepted with joy amid his grief the tragic facts of the world.

Such things must be. The artist proves himself by his powers of selection and omission, and, as he works, the trivial and irrelevant vanish from his theme, and the substance of life seems to fall easily and naturally into clear and inevitable form. The beginning, the middle, and the end of the action are bound together by an inner necessity. Bad fortune may pass away into happiness; prosperity may decline into suffering or death. Such things must be. Greek tragedy does not attempt to resolve the mystery of suffering. It rests upon it as an ultimate fact; it does not point towards any happy consummation of things for which creation now travails; it shows the tireless activity of man, his struggle for happiness and goodness; it teaches the necessity of misfortune and suffering and death, and still more the higher necessity to endure such things rather than to give way to what is worse. 'Woe, woe, but may the good prevail,' is the refrain of the chorus in the 'Agamemnon'; it is also the keynote of all Greek tragedy and of life.

Into the question why men enjoy seeing tragedies represented on the stage, Aristotle does not enter very

closely. He contents himself with saying that men have a natural love of seeing things represented, even what is unpleasant or distressing in actual life. The attraction of tragedy is the pleasure derived from seeing represented on the stage an action which arouses feelings of pity and fear. He does not attempt to go behind this curious phenomenon, which he held no doubt to be sufficiently established by the history of the Athenian stage. Nor does he say that the pleasure derived from the spectacle of tragedy was consciously felt by the audience as a purgation of their emotions of pity and fear. What the philosopher expressed in the technical language of the critic as the purgation of pity and fear was no doubt felt by the mass of spectators as a strong but indefinable emotional effect, perhaps a vague satisfaction compounded of edification and relief, in which it would not be easy for them to separate the religious and artistic influences of the spectacle. The great Dionysia was not simply a dramatic competition. It was a social and religious festival. It was a yearly celebration in which the whole people took part and possessed the mysterious and impressive power of such ceremonies. In the tragic drama created by Æschylus and Sophocles they found the simplest and profoundest and most enthralling of all spectacles. The simple fundamental facts of life are the theme of that drama: action entailing happiness and unhappiness, suffering and sorrow, and joy and death. Yet here we are at once forced to ask the further question, why did they prefer the spectacle of sorrow or tragedy to that of gaiety or comedy? Partly because religious tradition had secured the priority of tragedy, but also because their ordinary conception of life was essentially tragic. The rhythm of life in the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles is the same as that in the world of daily experience.

In one of the fragments of his poetry Archilochus encourages himself with these words: 'Take delight in what is delightful, and do not chafe too much at misfortune. Recognise the nature of the rhythm which sways man's life.' The phrase is a striking one, and sums up briefly that view of life which recurs constantly in Greek literature and is expressed most typically in Theognis, Pindar, and Herodotus, who, writing at different

times and for different audiences, coincide in their conception of life. Theognis addresses his friend thus: 'Endure in misfortune since thou hast joy of good things when fate came upon thee to have those things. As thou hast received evil after good so now pray to the gods and seek to escape from it.' And again: 'Danger lies in wait upon every action, and no man knows at the beginning of a deed where it will end.' 'No man can obtain all that he desires, for the barriers of grievous helplessness restrain him.' And Pindar in his grand hierophantic manner: 'Up and down the hopes of men are tossed as they cleave the waves of baffling falsity. A sure token of what shall come to pass hath never any man on the earth received from God: the divinations of things to come are blind. Many the chances that fall to men, when they look not for them, sometimes to thwart delight, yet others after battling with the surge of sorrowful pain have suddenly received for their affliction some happiness profound.'* And in Herodotus we read: 'There is a wheel on which the affairs of men revolve, and its movement forbids the same man always to be fortunate.' 'My wish for myself and those I love is to be now successful and now to meet with a check, thus passing through life amid alternate good and ill rather than with perpetual good fortune.' 'It is well to bear in mind that chances rule men and not men chances.' 'There never will be a man who was not liable to misfortunes from the day of his birth, and those misfortunes greater in proportion to his own greatness.'†

Such would seem to be the ordinary Greek conception of life. How can it be said to be tragic? We must first of all get rid of the idea that life as tragic must end in violent death or great suffering. The practice of Tragedy in the fifth century, so far as we know it, does not demand an unhappy ending. Nor does it mean that ordinary life was lived on the same serious, large, and complete scale. It means that man has a natural delight in life, and a strong spring of action in himself so that he lives and acts freely unconstrained by the exact knowledge of his limitations. He is conscious of life as a final reality to be accepted by itself and not as part of a wider

* Pindar, Ode XII (Myers).

† Herodotus, I, 207; III, 40; VII, 49, 203 (Rawlinson).

scheme of things. The same meanings and values are attached to the facts of life, for the hero on the stage and for the spectator when he has left the theatre. The curve of the tragic hero's existence may rise higher, but it starts from the same point and descends to the same point as that of the ordinary man, and rests upon the same base. And that base is composed of the simple facts of life on the earth as they finally arrange themselves in man's mature experience, as something hard and sorrowful and precarious, whose brightness is at the best short-lived, and must fade away into old age, if it is not suddenly quenched long before by the blind stroke of death. This or something very like it is what we mean when we say that the ordinary Greek attitude to life in serious moments was tragic, and it corresponds closely with the views of life so frequently occurring in Sophocles' tragedies, which are themselves illustrated by the movement of his plays.

The citizen of a modern state, enveloped in a monotonous security by an efficient service of police and taxation and public works, comforted and assisted in a peaceful career by the inventions of science and the conveniences of civilisation, solaced by a religion which is not of this world and which finds the real life in a spiritual world within the material one, is able with difficulty to realise how exposed to occasions of fear and pity was the ordinary life of the Greeks. The safeguards and alleviations of life which we take for granted were unknown to them. Society was unstable; the ways of life on land and sea were full of danger; poverty and helplessness were never far away. The weakness and insufficiency of the body to win a livelihood were no less clear to them than its inevitable decay into old age and death or its sudden collapse from disease. Everywhere they seemed subject to circumstances or powers which were hostile and jealous. The very brilliance of the Greek achievement, the austere perfection of the artistic remains from the fifth century, help to blind us to the conditions under which their work was done. Literature from Homer onwards contains ample evidence of all that the Greeks found to fear and pity in human destiny. 'Nought feebler doth the Earth nurture than man, of all the creatures that

breathe upon the face of the earth.' Theognis calls those men fools who pity the dead rather than the living, whose life and vigour pass away so quickly. Man's boasted knowledge is but delusion: his real good or woe he is unable to foresee. 'Witless are you mortals and dull to foresee your lot, whether of good or evil,' says Demeter in the Homeric Hymn. In the memorable scene after the Persian review at Abydos between Xerxes and Artabanus, who beneath their Persian names are real Greeks, Xerxes wept when he considered the brief life of the vast host gathered under his command, but Artabanus reminded him that the troubles and diseases of humanity made even that brief span intolerable. 'Envy, factions, strife, battles, and slaughters; and last of all age claims him for her own, age dispraised, infirm, unsociable, unfriended, with whom all woe of woe abides,' and then 'the doom of Hades . . . even Death at the last.' Such is the catalogue drawn up by Sophocles ending with death, the last great fear, of which we hear in the 'Phædo' 'that all men except philosophers count death among the great evils and the brave who endure it, endure it only from fear of greater evils.' And in accordance with this attitude Phædo regards it as an extraordinary thing that he did not feel pity for Socrates during the closing hours of his life. For as Aristotle remarks, 'what men find fearful in their own case, is pitiable when it happens to others.'

And yet this continual intrusion of fear and pity did not quench their spirit. There is something very wonderful about the steady nerve and balance of the Athenians during the fifth century. (But this balance of spirit was not merely a happy gift of disposition. In the Funeral Oration alluding to the religious sacrifices and festivals of the city, Pericles says that the delight we draw from these things drives away sadness, or 'melancholy,' according to Jowett's translation. To a people so occupied with making their world and living in it, so acutely conscious of the nature of human experience, so entirely dependent on themselves for power to act and endure, the spectacle of tragedy can hardly have been only an artistic or pleasurable one. The expression Art for Art's sake would have been incomprehensible in Athens at that time, and to associate

pleasure in the ordinary sense of the word with the tragedies of Æschylus or Sophocles seems like trifling with sacred things. Aristotle, when using the word 'pleasure' of the tragic effect, qualifies it with an adjective meaning 'peculiar' or 'proper.' (The theme of tragedy lay much too close to the central issue of the audience's life to be regarded simply as a source of pleasure or to be observed in the detached way that a work of art demands.) Greek tragedy did not aim at the presentation of this or that character or group of persons. The spectators were not meant to detect themselves in the characters on the stage or to delight in their truth to life. To think only of the hero's or heroine's character in the play, not to realise, for instance, that Creon's fortunes are as important as Antigone's in the play of Sophocles, is to fail to appreciate the significance of Greek Tragedy; for 'it is not a representation of men but of a piece of action, of life, of happiness and unhappiness, which come under the head of action, and the end aimed at is the representation not of qualities of character but of some action; and while character makes men what they are, it is the scenes they act in that make them happy or the opposite.' Happiness and unhappiness in this life is the theme of tragedy, and it is the final end of action in ordinary life. Such things belong to the deepest and most serious part of man's nature, his moral and religious conscience, and their dramatic representation works on those feelings through the æsthetic sense to achieve for the Greek something similar to what such painters as Piero da Francesco and Giovanni Bellini do for the believing Christian.

The figures and scenes of those painters are solemn and inspiring but not with the heavenly radiance and joy of Angelico's saints and angels from whom all traces of 'this muddy vesture of decay' have vanished. The Madonnas and saints of Giovanni Bellini in particular have a full and real humanity. They are also ideal in the truest sense, 'of the world but not in it.' They have trodden the earth and know its life. (They look out on the spectator with peace and power born not of innocence and seclusion from the world but of goodness and knowledge founded on experience.) The types and scenes which Bellini creates are truly heroic and saintly, in

which beauty of physical form and colour is penetrated and refined by the calmness of spiritual strength. (They have the power to uplift, to purge, to reconcile. In them as in the greatest Greek tragedies æsthetic and moral powers are blended together to breathe joy in the midst of sorrow) that strange state so admirably expressed in Hölderlin's couplet on Sophocles:

'Viele versuchten umsonst das Freudigste freudig zu sagen.
Hier spricht endlich es mir, hier in der Trauer, sich aus.'

The modern student may read or see a tragedy or at the best the *Oresteia* in a day, trying to make historical imagination and antiquarian knowledge do duty for the vividness and proximity of the original spectacle. During the City Dionysia the Athenians sat for many hours on three successive days in the theatre while nine tragedies were performed. The effect of such a performance must have been overwhelming. The modern world has nothing to offer on so great a scale. The nearest approach that we can make to it are the festival performances of Wagner's 'Ring' at Bayreuth. It can best be described as an immersion or saturation in the spirit of heroic life. During the performances the audience must have felt transported into a wider and grander world where they beheld the spectacle of human life with its sorrows and sufferings and death, its splendours and its eclipses, transfigured and redeemed from the narrow and broken perceptions of daily life by the artist's power and the consecration of religion. Those three days constituted for the spectator a tremendous evocation of the emotions of pity and fear. Each tragedy repeated in gigantic and solemn form not simply 'the doubtful doom of human kind,' but the fearful and piteous tale of life raised to a power exceeding that of ordinary humanity. [And it was by his absorption into the pitiful and fearful incidents of the heroic world that the spectator had his own emotions of pity and fear 'purged.' His nerve, his confidence in life, shaken by his own experience of the world, is restored or strengthened by the hero's acquiescence in, and endurance of, that tragic rhythm of life which pulsates through past and present alike.

G. M. SARGEANT.

Art. 5.—DIVORCE LAW REFORM.

History of Marriage in England. By J. E. G. Montmorency. King Edward VII Prize Essay, 1912-1913.

BEFORE embarking on this very controversial subject, it is well to give some of the notions which prevailed on marriage and divorce before the views of the Christian Fathers and early mediæval theologians began largely to influence Western ideas. Among the Greeks marriage was treated as a free contract, and its dissolution was freely allowed, though definitely kept in check by rules as to the devolution of property on divorce. The Cretans allowed divorce at the will of the parties, but if it was capricious, heavy penalties were involved. The wife took with her on her departure not only the property she had brought to her husband, but also a portion of what that property had produced during the marriage, as well as the results of all work that she herself had done. If the husband was responsible for the divorce and was not justified, he had also to pay her a fine of five staters. By the Athenian Law divorce could be granted to the husband or to the wife, but when the husband repudiated, it was his duty to find her another husband. At Thurium both parties had the right to divorce, but in either case the party repudiating the other was not allowed to marry a younger person, and at Sparta an unsuccessful attempt was made to authorise divorce for sterility.

The earliest forms of marriage known to ancient Rome comprised a holy relationship, and could only be contracted by patricians. The Servian reforms, however, later gave the plebeians the right to contract marriage. In the time of Domitian divorce was formally recognised and took place by a religious ceremony called *diffarreatio*. In the second century A.D. a coemptionate marriage might be dissolved by either party by simple repudiation. From the time of the Twelve Tables certain unions which were styled formless marriages were ended by a formal dismissal before witnesses. The Mæmian law, 167 B.C., displaced the family council as a divorce court and transferred its

functions to a court of inquiry nominated by the prætor, whose duty it was to decide to what extent there should be forfeiture of the nuptial provisions in case of separation. The tendency of the statute was injurious, for not only did it facilitate divorce, but it rendered the idea of it familiar, and overthrew that respect for the family council which had hitherto been a check upon it. A little before the opening of the Christian era the law of marriage and divorce was fully dealt with by Augustus, who introduced legislation with a view of remedying the inconveniences arising in social life through uncertainty as to whether persons were single or married, and if married, to whom. No modern law of divorce has been so lax as the Roman. It led to constant repudiations, resumptions, and changings. St Jerome recounts that there existed at Rome a wife who was married to her twenty-third husband, she herself being his twenty-first wife. This was almost equalled by a case which came before me in Egypt where a witness had been married sixteen times and she could not even remember the names of all her husbands. From the time of Constantine to that of Justinian some check was placed on reckless divorce by mutual consent. He, as a penalty, forced the parties into the retirement of a religious house, and further forbade persons convicted of adultery to intermarry. There can be no doubt that the almost anti-social views of the Greek and Latin Fathers upon the question of marriage and divorce were the inevitable reaction from the moral and social results of an entirely corrupt social state in which the most evanescent unions were dignified by the name of marriage. In reality the law of marriage had been tightened rather than relaxed, and the abuse of the system of divorce was probably the result rather than the cause of the gradual decline of Roman morals which followed the Punic Wars. It was the desire for, not the opportunities of, divorce that had increased. Such shortly was the state of the law of divorce in the Roman world in the first centuries of the Christian era, and so it remained until it was profoundly modified by the doctrine and practices of the mediæval Church.

By the earliest Jewish law the husband could discard his wife at will. Then the Pentateuch introduced the

formality of the written letter of divorce, which constituted a limitation of its earlier freedom. According to the Pentateuch, divorce was the exclusive privilege of the husband, but the later Jews permitted the wife to claim a divorce if her husband were a leper, or afflicted with polypus, or engaged in a repulsive trade. The foundation of the formal Jewish law of divorce is to be found in Deuteronomy, ch. xxiv, vers. 1-4 :

‘(1) When a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her : then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and send her out of his house.

‘(2) And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man’s wife.

‘(3) And if the latter husband hate her, and write her a bill of divorcement, and giveth it in her hand, and sendeth her out of his house ; or if the latter husband die, which took her to be his wife ;

‘(4) Her former husband, which sent her away, may not take her again to be his wife, after that she is defiled ; for that is abomination before the Lord : and thou shalt not cause the land to sin, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.’

At the beginning of the Christian era while the wife’s consent was necessary to marriage, neither it nor rabbinic sanction was necessary to divorce. The divorce of the insane husband according to Jewish law was impossible because he could not execute the deed of divorce. On the other hand, neither could the sane husband of an insane wife divorce her because she stood in all the greater need of his protection. But if the insanity were proved to have existed before the marriage, the marriage could be pronounced initially void, for the marriage of the insane was prohibited. The husband, however, was always expected to preserve the wife from want.

The law of the Church is founded on Matthew, ch. xix, ver. 6, ‘What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder’ ; but even in the fourth century A.D. the mind of the Church was absolutely unsettled on the whole subject. St Augustine’s attitude towards the question was absolutely uncompromising—he said there can be no divorce without the right of marriage. He

gave the doctrine of indissolubility a solid and in a measure a scientific basis. He gave it a consistency forced from the sacrament of marriage. He set aside at one stroke all causes of divorce or dissolution, other than death, which were admitted by the secular law: sickness, captivity, or prolonged absence. The whole question of divorce became, as it has ever continued to be, a matter of Church policy, and it was said that the laxness of the age called for the higher expediency. It was an age when a celibate priesthood could impose its dogmas on the secular affairs of the nations, sometimes wisely, but always with an eye to the material as well as the spiritual welfare of the Church whose strength lay in the fidelity of the women. In 331 A.D. the edict of Constantine limited the cases in which divorce could take place to three in number. The wife could obtain a divorce without penalties where the husband had been guilty of (1) murder, (2) poisoning, and (3) the violation of the tombs. If she divorced her husband for any other reason, such as for being a drunkard or a gambler, or for frequenting the society of loose women, the divorce seems to have been good in law, but she forfeited her dowry and was punishable with deportation. The husband could obtain a divorce without penalties in cases of (1) adultery, (2) poisoning, and (3) acting as a procuress, but if he divorced his wife for any other reason, the divorce seems to have been good in law, but he forfeited all interest in his wife's dowry, and if he married again, the divorced wife was authorised to seize the dowry of the second wife. In 449 Theodosius II and Valentinian introduced further legislation, and made the following grounds for divorce: (1) treason; (2) adultery; (3) homicide; (4) poisoning; (5) forgery; (6) violating tombs; (7) stealing from the Church; (8) robbery or assisting or harbouring robbers; (9) cattle stealing; (10) attempting a wife's life; (11) beating or whipping wife; (12) introducing immoral women into the house. The husband could obtain a divorce for any of the above, except, of course, Nos. (11) and (12), and also for additional reasons such as (1) going to dine with men other than her relatives without his knowledge or against his wish; (2) going from home at night against his wish without reasonable cause; (3) frequenting the circus (night clubs), etc., after

having been forbidden by him to do so. The importance of this last enactment lies in the fact that it remains at the present day with certain modifications the law of Greece and is accepted by the Greek Church. Justinian under the growing influence of the Church forbade divorce by mutual consent with three exceptions: (1) when the husband was impotent; (2) when either the husband or the wife wished to enter into a monastery; (3) when either was in captivity for a certain length of time. Justin his successor, however, repealed the prohibition of divorce by mutual consent owing to the difficulty of reconciling those who had come to hate each other, and who, if compelled to live together, frequently attempted each other's lives. It is a matter for remark that throughout all this legislation the strict principle of the indissolubility of marriage laid down by the Church was disregarded. The Church, however, was not always consistent in its downright opposition to divorce. The canons of the Patriarch Nicephorus (806-815 A.D.) recognise that divorce by consent is again good before the secular law, and by the time of Basil, the Macedonian (867 A.D.), divorce by consent is clearly recognised as valid. But by 870 A.D. there was again a change, and the Epanagoge of the Emperors Basil, Leo, and Alexander (884 A.D.) and the Basilica (905-911) divorce by consent was forbidden. The Roman law of divorce as enunciated from Constantinople most certainly influenced in some measure the law of divorce that became operative in that city after its occupation by the Turks in 1453.

Any system of marriage which recognises polygamy must place no difficulties in the way of easy divorce. It is a necessity of Mohamadan law. Mohamad himself had ordained a legal manner of procuring it, but with the efflux of time repudiation had been substituted for the more formal procedure. The method in use is simplicity itself, the mere pronouncement three times of a simple formula indicative of the husband's intention and the woman ceases to be his wife without the intervention of any court of law. The system was naturally much abused, and usually a bond is given to the wife or her father which states that in the event of repudiation a fixed sum shall be paid as liquidated damages. The husband is also compelled to give up all property

which the wife has brought into the common stock. Undoubtedly Moslem law relating to marriage was of New Rome origin, which was more favourable to women than that of mediæval Europe. Mohamad himself was a very doughty champion of women's interests. In spite of the easiness and simplicity of divorce in Mohamadan countries, the Moslem does not to any very great extent avail himself of his privileges. In Egypt amongst the poorer classes in the towns there is probably some degree of laxity. In the villages public opinion is too strong for the privilege to be made use of without such reasons as would commend themselves to the community. Among the educated classes in the country divorce is of very rare occurrence, which proves that facilities for divorce are not by any means a reason for making it of common occurrence, but rather the contrary. Under Moslem law a wife who is divorced probably in a fit of temper may not be brought back again to her husband's hearth until she has gone through the ceremony of marriage with another man with whom the marriage must be consummated. This makes the Moslem husband careful in his speech, as once the formula has been pronounced three times there is no withdrawal, and it is very short.

Among the Teutonic races marriage was in the earliest times a matter of purchase, and the wife was at first in fact and later in theory the husband's chattel. When Christian influences became more marked the right of the husband to put away his wife was more restricted. In England, Wales, and Ireland the doctrine of indissolubility had a prolonged struggle with the Church, whose influence was clearly in favour of restriction and the limitation, if not the elimination, of cases which were admissible as a ground of divorce, though the Anglo-Saxon penitentials state plainly that where access to the wife is denied to the husband through captivity and other causes it is better to divorce than to fornicate. But the general tendency and policy of the Church, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, has always been from the time of St Augustine to uphold the strict doctrine of indissolubility. Though throughout the Middle Ages from the time of Gratian there existed a wide liberty of divorce in our modern

sense, the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church is absolute and categorical on the subject, and lays down as final and conclusive that every Christian marriage which is ratified and consummated is one and indissoluble. A Christian marriage, however, which is ratified verbally, but not consummated, may be dissolved by Church authority, and non-Christian marriage is dissoluble in cases in which one of the parties is converted and the other refuses to dwell peacefully with the converts. Amongst Protestants, the Reformation brought about the rejection of the sacramental theory of marriage, and with it a great change in the prevailing ideas upon the subject of divorce. The Reformers charged the Church with fostering vice by the application of too severe a doctrine of indissolubility. The Protestant doctrine of divorce originated from Luther, but it was long in finding acceptance in England, where from 1660-1857 the absolute doctrine of indissolubility was in force. This was, however, subject to qualifications as in the first of these centuries the old law of nullity and of pre-contract still made marriage in fact dissoluble in many cases where hardship demanded relief, but it was only from 1753-1857 that the doctrine of indissolubility was really effective and incapable of any evasion, save the evasion afforded to the rich by the Legislature and to all by the closely limited law of nullity still in force.

The Matrimonial Causes Act which was passed in 1857 made divorce possible in this country without the expense of obtaining a private Act of Parliament. In a great measure the Act of 1857 was the result of a famous sentence passed by Mr Justice Maule on a poor man for bigamy. The learned Judge with withering irony exposed the absolute injustice of the law of the land in relation to divorce and showed how utterly impossible it was for a poor person to obtain either justice or equity. The Act was so full of absurd compromises and anomalies that the late Lord Gorell, when President of the Divorce Court, strongly urged further reform. In this he was supported by Metropolitan magistrates and others whose daily work threw them in close contact with the problem. The Protestant Bishops and the clergy of the Church of England were definitely

hostile to any reform. They had inherited Roman Catholic tradition and doctrine and were regardless of the sufferings of a class who, though happily in a minority, were nevertheless entitled to their sympathetic consideration. Public opinion, however, would not let the matter rest, and in 1909 a Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes was appointed. At the time surprise was expressed not at its appointment, but that its appointment had been so long delayed. Whatever divergences of opinion there were as to whether the remedy of divorce should continue to be restricted in England to the case of adultery, there were almost none that there were at least three matters of great national importance which were urgently in need of reform. It was felt that the poorer classes of the community were practically excluded, on account of their want of means, from availing themselves of the remedy which was open to the well-to-do; that there was an inequality between men and women which was neither just nor desirable; and that unrestricted newspaper reporting of the details of divorce cases was both harmful and inexpedient and should be restrained in the interest of morality.

The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 founded the present Divorce Court and its jurisdiction. It removed from the Ecclesiastical Courts such jurisdiction as they had in these matters and gave to the new Courts jurisdiction in: (1) Dissolution of marriage; (2) Judicial separation; (3) Nullity of marriage; (4) Restitution of conjugal rights; and (5) Certain other matters. By the Act also a decree of judicial separation can be obtained on the following grounds: (1) Adultery; (2) Cruelty; (3) Desertion without cause for two years and upwards. Divorce was permitted on the following grounds: On the petition of the wife—(1) Incestuous adultery; (2) Bigamy with adultery; (3) Rape; (4) Sodomy; (5) Bestiality. The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1923 now gives the wife the right to divorce her husband for adultery. Before the passing of this Act the wife had to prove not only adultery, but also either cruelty, or desertion without reasonable excuse, for two years or upwards.

The Royal Commission found that there were wide
Vol. 251.—No. 498.

and sharp differences of opinion as to dissolubility of marriage, each of the following principles being maintained: (1) That Christian marriages are indissoluble; (2) That all marriages are indissoluble; (3) That marriage is dissoluble on the ground of adultery; (4) That marriage is dissoluble on the grounds of (a) adultery; (b) desertion; (5) That marriage is dissoluble on other serious grounds based upon the needs of human life.

In view of the conflict of opinion which has existed in all ages and in all branches of the Christian Church, the Commissioners very wisely decided that their object must be to recommend the Legislature to act upon an unfettered consideration of what is best for the interest of the State, society, and morality and for that of the parties to suits and their families. They came to the conclusion that they should not regard the marriage tie as necessarily indissoluble in its nature, or as dissoluble only on the ground of adultery, but other grave causes may be allowed.

Every one is said to be equal before the law, but it has also been said with more truth that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. Nowhere has this been better exemplified than in the Divorce Court, where the present means of administering the law are such as to place it beyond the reach of the very poor. Up to June 1914, when the Poor Persons' Department was established, all proceedings connected with divorce had to be instituted in London. In 1922, the Statutory Rules and Orders of the Supreme Court, England, provided that divorce business might be taken at the Assizes held at Birmingham, Cardiff (or Swansea when the Glamorgan Assizes are held at Swansea), Chester, Exeter, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Norwich, and Nottingham. This sop to outery only made injustice more glaring. The New Procedure under the Rules of the Supreme Court (Poor Persons) extended the number of Assize Courts before which Matrimonial Causes could be heard. In order to show how very far this extension of jurisdiction is from meeting real requirements it is only necessary to recapitulate the Assize towns where divorce business can be taken: Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff (or Swansea when the Glamorgan Assizes are held at Swansea), Carlisle, Chester, Derby, Durham,

Exeter, Leeds, Leicester, Lewes, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Norwich, Nottingham, Winchester, and York. A very casual glance at the map of England shows that justice in matters matrimonial is very far from having been brought to every man's door. The District Registries in which a proceeding by a poor person under the Matrimonial Causes Act may be commenced and prosecuted are only twenty-three in number, whereas in ordinary actions they may be commenced at any of the eighty-nine District Registries of the High Court. Why should such a difference in number exist when the avowed object of the Rules of 1925 was for the relief of the poor? Under these Rules the poor person has to bear the cost of bringing his own witnesses to the trial, and he may be asked to deposit money for this purpose. It is obvious that where the parties and the witnesses live elsewhere than near the Assize towns which have Divorce jurisdiction the incidental costs are prohibitive for the poor. In addition to the question of actual cost, working people cannot get away from their work for a sufficient time to attend the hearing when they live at any distance from the place of trial. The very poor can only proceed in local Courts, and until such Courts are established there will be a denial of justice, which is a blot on the fair fame of English law.

The present state of the administration of the law constitutes a grave injustice, and it is difficult to see why jurisdiction should not be given to local Courts to enable them to deal with Matrimonial Causes. It cannot be said that there is any lack of men who would make capable and effective judges quite able to deal with cases affecting the status of foreigners domiciled in this country or of persons resident abroad, even should grave questions of international law arise. Surely it cannot be urged that County Court Judges are not just as well equipped as the Judge of a Consular Court in the East who has jurisdiction in Matrimonial Causes. It would be absurd to lay down that all poor persons must be married by a Bishop, yet is it not more so to say that all persons seeking a divorce can only obtain it from a High Court Judge, and that is what the law now requires? The Commission recommended the institution of local Courts. It was appointed in 1909, and

we are now in 1928 and little has been done. Where the law is too stringent or too lax people always make a law for themselves, and the law relating to divorce has been no exception to this rule. Persons who cannot afford the luxury of a divorce either obtain a separation order from the Magistrates or else make their own arrangements independently of the law. The result in many cases is that the separated husband and wife each form new ties which are not and cannot be consecrated by marriage. The result is the birth of illegitimate children, perhaps not so many as formerly now that contraception is more widely understood, and a general lowering of the moral tone of the country. Surely, not even the Church, however much it may be imbued with mediæval tradition, can uphold a system that has such deplorable consequences. Its attitude is one which connives at adultery. The law in England as regards separation is out of harmony with modern conceptions of the marriage tie. People who have not resumed marital relations after having been judicially separated for three years are extremely unlikely to come together again. They are much more likely to form relationships which must be looked on with less favour by the Church than divorce. The law is for the people, not the people for the law. And any law to be efficacious must fit in with the practical everyday needs of the community, and not be based on an ideal condition which is not attainable so long as such a thing as sex exists. Experience has proved that where laws are too narrow they will always be evaded, indeed, perhaps their very strictness calls into being a feeling that they should be evaded. Where laws are reasonable they are respected and obeyed. Judicial separation for three years should constitute a valid ground for divorce and does so in many countries which have a more practical conception of human relationships than is evidenced by the marriage law in England to-day. It cannot be urged that such a reform would create a laxer moral atmosphere. The experience of countries which have a wider and more human outlook give the lie to any such assumption. The Moslem, with his very great latitude in regard to marriage, is found to avail himself very sparingly of his opportunities. He may have four wives, but in practice

he is mostly content with one. Divorce with him is simply repudiation, but how very seldom does he exercise it! The very facility with which the marriage tie can be dissolved has not led him to abuse the right, but has tended rather to make him more moral than he probably would have been under a stricter marriage law. The facility with which divorces can be obtained in America is used as an argument to prove that laxity leads to general immorality. But this is not really the case. What has led to the impression is that the Press proclaim from the house-tops any case of a sensational nature, where the parties are well known. America is not any more immoral than the rest of the world.

Another absurdity of the law which calls for reform is that a person marrying a second time, whose husband or wife shall have been continually absent from such person for seven years, and shall not have been known by such person to be living within that time, or a person contracting a second marriage in the *bonâ fide* belief in the death of the other party, cannot be found guilty of bigamy, but the second marriage is void, and any children would be illegitimate if the other party to the marriage is in fact alive at the time of the second marriage. Cases of this nature are of rare occurrence, yet none the less the possible children of such unions have an indisputable claim for consideration, and it should be made possible for the party concerned to obtain an order for presumption of death, which on being made absolute after the expiration of six months, the applicant should be entitled to contract a valid marriage.

Wilful desertion without the consent and against the will of the other party and without reasonable cause for two years is a ground for a decree of judicial separation obtainable by either the husband or the wife. In Scotland, since 1573, wilful desertion for four years has been a ground for divorce, and it has not been found to increase immorality in that country. Surely the law of Scotland is worthy of imitation and might be introduced into England without in any way producing a decrease in moral standards. Indeed, it would be well to improve upon it and make wilful desertion for three years a valid ground for divorce. Paradoxical as it may

seem, the very law of England encourages adultery, when adultery is a *sine qua non* of divorce. The unknown woman and the hotel bill are common form in the Divorce Courts.

The persistent use of alcohol is a source of misery of the most serious character, and leads to cruelty, the communication of disease, and not infrequently to the murder of the wife or husband and the children. Habitual drunkenness is a ground for a separation order, and should in the interests of society be made a ground for divorce on proof that the drunkenness is incurable and that there is no reasonable prospect of joint married life. Drunkenness is worse than cruelty, in that it is more dangerous and creates a moral atmosphere from which it is desirable that the children should be removed.

Imprisonment is in many countries a ground for divorce, and such a ground is not unreasonable, as it would not be taken advantage of if that love which passeth all understanding existed between the husband and wife. That such love does exist is well known to those who are brought in contact with prison life. And probably it would be only fair to assume that were divorce allowed where a sentence of imprisonment exceeds three years, it would not be largely taken advantage of, and only if divorce was the lesser of two evils. But where a person has been sentenced to death and the sentence has been commuted to penal servitude for life, it would appear to be only a matter of simple justice that the wife or husband as the case may be should have an option in the matter and not be made to bear a heavy part of the penalty.

The alarming increase of insanity all the world over, not less in England than elsewhere, raises the question as to whether incurable insanity should not be a ground for divorce. It would perhaps be even wiser to go further and say that insanity of any kind should *ipso facto* annul any marriage. This matter must be looked at from the point of view of the children, and from the children to the larger point of view of the community. It is not in the interest of any nation, or in the interest of the individuals of that nation, to have its population added to by those tainted with insanity. The question of eugenics enters very largely into the subject. Is it

desirable in the interest of the race and the State that persons who are unfit to marry and propagate healthy children on account of either mental or physical disorder should be permitted to do so? Is it not proper that such measures should be taken to prevent married persons who become unfit to have healthy children from having children at all? On this subject the world has not yet become sufficiently enlightened, but no doubt the time will come when the interests of the possible children and those of the State will predominate over the prejudice and ignorance which now prevails. Insanity brings an end to practically every phase of marriage, and when that insanity is incurable it inflicts an intolerable hardship on the sane husband or wife which should not be permitted by the law of the land. To all intents and purposes the incurably insane person is dead, and has passed out of the life of the sane partner to the marriage contract. What valid reasons are there for not affording relief?

In the interest of the children, in the interest of individuals, in the interest of morality, and in the interest of the State, the time has come for the enactment of a Divorce Law, including all that is good and eliminating all that is bad from previous enactments; and adding to it such provisions as would bring it in line with the social conditions and requirements of modern life untainted by mediæval tradition and the theories and practice of a bygone age.

J. E. MARSHALL.

Art. 6.—'GOLDY.'

The Miscellaneous Works of Oliver Goldsmith. With Biographical Introduction by Prof. Masson. (Globe Edition.) Eighth Impression. Macmillan, 1895.

IN a year of memorable centenaries—in this respect an exceptional year, for 1928 has witnessed the honoured recognition, amongst others, of the lives and works of Blake, Bunyan, Ibsen, Tolstoi, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Meredith, Schubert, and has mourned the passing of Thomas Hardy—it would be improper not to celebrate the second centenary of the birth of Oliver Goldsmith, whose writings and personality entitle him not only to a great and abiding admiration; but to the noblest tribute hearts can pay, that of warm personal affection.

He belongs to the few whom it has been the easy practice, even in recent years, to praise with counterbalancing excuses. The persistency of this tendency to recognise his qualities generously with half the mind, and then to swamp them with apologies, is due, without doubt, to the continuous compelling interest of Boswell's 'Life of Johnson'; wherein Goldsmith, while often referred to, is frequently made to look something of a vulgarian or a fool. With grudging phrases and occasional belittling incidents, his crudeness, vanity, and many real perversities of temper and mood are subtly exemplified. By so doing, Boswell was able to add humour to his book and to express his own small jealousy—of which possibly he was not fully conscious—over preferences shown by the idolised Johnson to Goldsmith; but it also has had the effect of setting up the little, pock-marked, over-dressed, struggling Irishman in a long-enduring pillory for ridicule. Looking back over the two centuries that have passed since he came into life we can see how unjust that pillory has been.

Yet they all did it. He 'wrote like an angel, but talked like poor Poll.' There must always be a 'but'; a gibe to blunt the compliment due. And in the circumstances it was to be expected. Goldsmith was a prominent figure in a coterie, a smart coterie and a Club destined to be ever-famous, in which elaborated epigram and play upon words, with pointed chaff and kindly ridicule,

were the gems and confetti of many an occasion. Garrick went for Goldy and Goldy went for Garrick, with Boswell industriously and surreptitiously taking notes; and so we had such appetising dishes of personalities and fun as were served up in 'Retaliation.' But it was a little hard on Oliver that the descriptions and exaggerations of his oddities and quaint incapacities should have persisted as they have done. 'Let not his frailties be remembered,' wrote Dr Johnson, when the news of Goldsmith's death was brought to him; 'he was a very great man.' Even in those catastrophic moments, however, the frailties were not forgotten; but the tribute coming from those lips and that heart was worth the years and paragraphs of misunderstanding and belittlement. In the long run the verdict of Johnson has strengthened and been confirmed by posterity. The greatness of Goldsmith is finally established.

He is to be honoured both as a man and a writer; yet, in his case as in many others, without the sort of man that he was there could have been no enduring writer. He was pre-eminently the child of his circumstances, from the first to the last; and could not have written his best and truest work without the haphazard, topsy-turvy, farcical-tragical, down-at-heels experiences which harassed and amused him during his pilgrimage of life. The main appeal of 'The Vicar of Wakefield,' 'She Stoops to Conquer,' 'The Good-Natured Man,' and the two great poems, 'The Deserted Village' and 'The Traveller,' come from his own hard experiences philosophically met. 'Le style, c'est l'homme même'! Those works are essentially autobiographical; they possess an enduring life and happiness. Practically all else that he did was hack-work; and surely he was the prince and emperor of literary hacks; often giving gold for dross and merging with the necessarily poor value of the work so turned out, under threat of writ and want, much of the charm of his genial and noble spirit. 'The Citizen of the World,' even with its glimpses of the Man in Black and the delightful Beau Tibbs and his wife, as a whole, is hardly worth re-reading; yet had Goldsmith been able to write those descriptive letters entirely as a labour of enjoyment and love, with restraint and economy, 'blotting' a thousand lines, and working up the pseudo-Chinese

and the English characters, 'The Citizen' might have become a remarkable work and immortal. Such a passage of delicious nonsense as this, from Lien Chi Altangi to Fum Hoam, in China, is pretty well at the crown of comic absurdity.

'Where shall I meet a soul of such purity as that which resides in thy breast! Sure thou hast been nurtured by the bill of the Shin Shin, or sucked the breasts of the provident Gin Hiung. The melody of thy voice could rob the Chong Fou of her whelps, or inveigle the Boh that lives in the midst of the waters.'

Who, with any imagination or blood in his veins can resist nonsense so sublime? It is of the cream and ecstasy of burlesque; and such delightful spirit of mock-bombast and playfulness as that frequently popped up its head when Goldy's quill was scratching away; though not nearly often enough; for the bondage of the thousand words held him in thrall, and when Griffiths or Newbery was clamouring for the next belated instalment of 'copy,' it was inevitable that the offering made was generally of mere prose written with a tired and protesting pen.

In his Essays and the special contributions to 'The Bee'; in the unconvincing and unhelpful 'Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning'; in the poor life of Bolingbroke, the inadequate Memoirs of M. de Voltaire, the more amusing biography of Beau Nash; in the histories of Greece and elsewhere, in the Natural History, as in the other manifold writings wrought by him with drudgery, misery, and, doubtless, some measure of shame, Goldsmith often was compelled to let his fancy and sense of poetry have play; and so it is that out of the barrenness of many uninspired pages we encounter Mistress Quickly still at the Boar's Head Tavern—in this room I have lived, child, woman and ghost, more than three hundred years'; and are enabled to enjoy a foretaste of such details of the strolling player's life as were described by George Primrose in 'The Vicar of Wakefield.'

No more characteristic work of fiction has been written than 'The Vicar.' It is Oliver himself—*l'homme même*. He is Dr Primrose, Moses, and George; Burchell also, and possibly the better side of Jenkinson too;

while in Mrs Primrose, Olivia, Sophia, and the blowed Misses Flamborough, not to speak of Lady Blarney and Miss Carolina Wilhelmina Amelia Skeggs, we see something of his reactions to the infinite concourse of women. In Squire Thornhill we apprehend, what hitherto has not generally been discerned in Goldsmith, his essential detestation of the privileged debauchee, and the fact that in spite of his living more or less hand-to-mouth in a time of widespread moral lassitude and degradation, he kept a clean heart. It is worth while to look at this truth more particularly now, for it has not been sufficiently recognised. Goldsmith, without mawkishness or the faintest suspicion of cant, was a thoroughly good man, a Christian in heart and actions; yet fully alive to the sympathies of this world, and not disposed to tremble before the possible woes and threats of the next while still the jolly sun was capable of shining here. How completely and incredibly mean Thornhill is shown to be—indeed, in giving the Squire no redeeming qualities at all, the novelist rather over-painted his portrait and detracted from the full artistic effect. A vile seducer, mean to the last degree; a bully; a wastrel, insolent, merciless, selfish, revengeful; and served by creatures who would have been as worthless as himself had their responsibility been equal to his. He is of a type that often casually appears in Goldsmith's pages, as in Smollett, Richardson, and Fielding; for those were years of licence when a young man of wealth and position was allowed and expected to practise most worldly principles, and feminine flesh was generally supposed to be hopelessly frail. We see something of this odious concession to the worst in human nature in Young Marlow's attitude towards Miss Hardcastle during the passages wherein he mistakes her for a domestic servant at an inn. Happily, Goldsmith checked the base ardours of his hero in time; but the possibility so nearly approached was sufficient to illustrate his acceptance of the assumption that gilded youth in that 'age of opulence and refinement' might take its pleasures with impunity; and for no other reason than that the youth so self-indulgent and indulged happened to be 'gilded.'

All Goldsmith's writings, directly or indirectly—yet never obtrusively, as if they were parts of a seriously

determined purpose to make life less comfortable to other people—have a powerful moral tone, exceptional to the time. Naturally, now and then, a point of view is expressed which a more—or a less—sophisticated age possibly would rather noisily hush; for they could then be frank over circumstances which we too elaborately ignore or else perhaps exploit in the louder fiction. With him and 'The Vicar,' anyhow, the moral tone was nobly good, with sincerity, and without affectation. But what is more important still, the story attracts, amuses, and entertains. Take the 'Advertisement' to 'The Vicar,' as expressive of Goldsmith's sound moral sense:

'There are a hundred faults in this thing, and a hundred things might be said to prove them beauties. But it is needless. A book may be amusing with numerous errors, or it may be dull without a single absurdity. The hero of this piece unites in himself the three greatest characters upon earth; he is a priest, an husbandman, and the father of a family. He is drawn as ready to teach, and ready to obey; as simple in affluence, and majestic in adversity. In this age of opulence and refinement, whom can such a character please? Such as are fond of high life will turn with disdain from the simplicity of his country fireside; such as mistake ribaldry for humour will find no wit in his harmless conversation; and such as have been taught to deride religion will laugh at one whose chief stores of comfort are drawn from futurity.'

The happiest quality in Goldy's personality is his rich humanity. He was true gentleman to the innermost heart-beat. As was to be expected of one who had often starved, and had slept with strange bedfellows; who had wandered penniless across Europe and lived by his humour rather than his wits; who had mixed fraternally with the squalid poor of Dublin and London and the peasantry of Germany, Italy, and France, he had none of the meanness of vanity, called snobbishness, which so easily tarnishes the shallower sort, and to which his period was unusually subject. Nothing better illustrates his fine humanity than the scenes in 'The Vicar,' which show Dr Primrose almost rejoicing in his wretchedness in gaol, because it gave him an opportunity, that otherwise would be impossible, of helping his fellow-prisoners to escape from the dissoluteness, degradation, and despair

which hitherto had bound and oppressed them. The whole incident, besides proving the greatness of his kindness and the height of his ideality, shows the practical sense of Goldsmith—in whom little practical sense, especially so far as concerned himself, has been suspected. Yet more enlightened than his fellows, even than the reformers of his time, he saw that incarceration in a common prison, then so brutal and very far-reaching in its evil effects, could only be finally ruinous; and that if the sufferers—he had pity even for the villainous in their misfortune—were to be redeemed, it must be through the re-establishment of their self-respect and through their learning the principles of self-help. Goldsmith in this was before his time, another aspect of him insufficiently discerned.

Without obtrusiveness, therefore, and with practice rather than with profession, he was a truly religious man; and it may be regarded as certain that this quality, as much as anything else, endeared him to Johnson, who, as the prayers he composed, as well as the written confessions of his weaknesses testify, was of a similar inward spirituality. The cause of Goldsmith's religious strength is shown in his two supreme poems, and especially in 'The Deserted Village.' He loved his father and his brother Henry, country parsons both, and 'passing rich with forty pounds a year'; and no perversities of misfortune could destroy that power of affection. His mother was not so fondly endeared to him. There is reason to think that she had an acid tongue with no extraordinary understanding of his irresponsible and frying young ways. He dedicated 'The Traveller' to his brother, and always hoped even amid his worst adversities to be re-united with him some day.

'Unpractised he to fawn, or seek for power,
By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour;
Far other aims his heart had learned to prize,
More skilled to raise the wretched than to rise.
His house was known to all the vagrant train;
He chid their wanderings, but relieved their pain . . .
Pleased with his guests, the good man learned to glow,
And quite forgot their vices in their woe;
Careless their merits or their faults to scan,
His pity gave ere charity began.'

It is easy to see from these and other characteristic lines of this self-revealing poem the influences, gained in his early years, which remained to buoy and steady Goldsmith through the many vicissitudes of his troubled life. How easy would it have been, in the temptations and tribulations of his earlier London years, for him to have failed in the same degrading manner as Charles Churchill failed, and Richard Savage; or in a similar weakly and pitiful way to that in which his contemporary, Thomas Chatterton, failed! He had every opportunity for sinking to the gutter-life. Extreme hardship, poverty, want, hack-work, debt; but there is no thought of surrender. Goldy just went on. When he had earned, he spent, and gave; but certainly he gave; his left hand not knowing what his right hand did; which is the reason why, when he was famous as a novelist, essayist, playwright, and poet—not to mention the doctorate in medicine and the authority in learning, neither of which was really anything, although, doubtless, they had their passing moderate influence at the time—he still was inevitably hard-up. He gave to the necessitous. There is no knowing how foolishly or generously he gave, for those are actions not spoken of or written about by such as he. With his natural extravagance, over food and display in dress, of which there can be no denial, his later financial difficulties were largely due to an unheeding benevolence.

The strength of his more ambitious poetry rests in his humanity, sincerity, and simplicity; and those are the essentials of all living art, as of all truly great men. His verse was published during a period of elaborate artifice, when the qualities of humanity, sincerity, and simplicity were neither popular nor common among poets and men. To be witty and consciously clever was the evident aim; while affectations were generally admired as somehow signifying culture. All the more remarkable, then, that Goldsmith, while using the rhymed iambic pentameter, the particular metrical vogue of the time, was able to use it only for the expression of humane thoughts with direct truth and an ever-genial simplicity. It is unnecessary to quote from his verse, whether it be the greater poems or the *jeux d'esprit*, like the 'Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog,' the satirical

'Description of an Author's Bedchamber,' or Olivia's little song 'When lovely Woman stoops to Folly,' because it all is so well known; but be it humorous, gay, or serious, the work invariably was natural, simple, and true. He wrote out of his tender and sensitive heart, and there again Goldsmith was largely a pioneer breaking through the literary conventions of the time; but that truth also has not generally been recognised, mainly because of the insistent tendency to apology which grudged him the credit for originality, and for wisdom and sometimes for wit. Yet the assertion is true; and centenary celebrations are helpful and fortunate when they permit of the re-estimation of old values, and enable a man to be set in, or restored to, his proper place.

With the plays we come to another aspect of Oliver Goldsmith. His intention in writing them was only to amuse; and although there is in 'The Good-Natured Man' and 'She Stoops to Conquer' plenty of sentiment with an easy moralising that often degenerates to sentimentality, capable of being pompously mouthed, there is nothing exactly to move the heart as there is in 'The Vicar' and 'The Deserted Village'; other, that is, than to mirth. It is curious, when looking back upon those ultra-fashionable times, with their licentiousness combined with the determination to be 'genteel,' to see how 'in deference to the public taste, grown of late, perhaps, too delicate, the scene of the bailiffs was retrenched in the representation'; for few scenes of 'The Good-Natured Man' are more frankly comic than that in which Mr Honeywood endeavours to pass off the bailiff-in-possession and his follower 'honest Mr Flanigan; a true English officer, madam——' of the Fleet, as his friends. Of course, it is vulgar, as all Cockney humour, like that of Sam Weller and Dick Swiveller, is vulgar; but essentially it is not so vulgar as the minds of those who condemned it; for it is simply and manfully true of life. Happily, Goldsmith was not afraid of broad fun, and was quite without base vulgarity. His wit did not snigger; his humour did not degrade. Take Tony Lumpkin. There again is Goldsmith himself, with an added bold assurance. His humour had plenty of body. His practical joking was sheer impishness, robustly carried through. He enjoyed the common

company at the Three Pigeons—'Dick Muggins the exciseman, Jack Slang the horse doctor, little Aminidab that grinds the music box, and Tom Twist that spins the pewter platter'; he liked singing his chorus-song, and confessed to thinking sometimes of 'Bet Bouncer and the miller's grey mare'; but it is all honestly amusing; the expression of natural vitality and strong life, the humour of a laughing heart, with no indecency; and that is the reason why, after more than a hundred and fifty years, 'She Stoops to Conquer' is still alive, enjoyable and popular.

The impishness of Tony Lumpkin was an unsubduable characteristic of Oliver Goldsmith, and often found play, although Boswell, having the Scotsman's proverbial sense of humour, sometimes took it seriously. It was such impishness as led him to poke fun even at Johnson as, for instance, over the number of rumps that would be necessary to reach to the moon. The real trouble was that too often the sense of humour of others was not in sympathy with his; and as William Black pointed out in his revealing volume on Goldsmith in the 'English Men of Letters' series—a book which began the true rehabilitation—Oliver must often have been bothered by the density of those with whom he had played. He would talk joyful nonsense deliberately and find the fools taking it as if it had been seriously meant. No wonder, as William Black suggests, that sometimes he must have drawn back pained at such wanton obtuseness and hopeless lack of frolic imagination. He would fancifully talk of money being 'born'; and the precisians would correct him and protest that, of course, he should have said 'coined'; just as, in the same way, his passage in the fifty-eighth letter of the 'Citizen of the World,' 'The Doctor, now looking round, found not a single *eye* disposed to listen,' would have been condemned as containing a terminological inexactitude; although the same academic dullards would not have objected to Milton's use of the similar expression, 'Blind mouths,' in 'Lycidas,' because they knew that he, at any rate, had no humour and that Ruskin had commented eloquently upon the expression. But, of course, Goldy liked to use inordinate words, simply because he was Irish, playful, and imaginative.

He had at times something of a Puckish spirit, and it was fortunate that he was so blessed, as otherwise almost certainly he must have succumbed to the anxieties and troubles that crowded on him thickly during nearly the whole of his life—through the faults of his own improvident and ebullient temperament, of course. But beside that happiness of heart, which took the knocks of adversity with humour and good humour, he had also a great courage. He could not be finally beaten; at least until Death—who is not a fair competitor, for he holds all the trump cards—took a hand in the game. Goldy was not suppressible or suppressed; and with all his shyness and sensitiveness, for he was more shy and sensitive than many have seen, he had plenty of self-reliance and independence of character.

A beautiful and a revealing light is shed on his unselfishness and steadfastness by the story of his approaching the Earl of Northumberland to solicit patronage—for his brother. When remonstrated with afterwards for not having used the opportunity to serve himself, he merely protested and protested truly, 'As for myself, I have no dependence on the promises of great men. I look to the booksellers for support.' It was a fine answer and true; for by fighting his way through, he morally defeated Grub Street; and proved that he possessed a great, proud, and generous soul. With all his weaknesses and vanities, as they appeared to his contemporaries—there was the wearing of the loud coloured clothes, the small and futile attempts at self-assertion under the discouragement of the company of the friends and worshippers who rightly had established Johnson as their Great Cham, and the rest of it, so much talked about—he had, we easily dare to assert, not much weakness of character and very little vanity.

Boswell's passing gibes do often suggest an abundant conceit in Goldsmith; but really that was nothing more than a moral protest against persistent depreciation and indifference from his fellows, who should have known better. Ever since his childhood, when he was taken as the fool of the family, he had been encouraged to develop what now we cleverly call an inferiority complex; and himself knowing his true powers of mind, having in memory experiences and adventures gained through

a fairly courageous wandering; having also in his thoughts and heart ideas which eventually were to blossom into life through his mind-children, the Primroses, the Hardcastles, the Lumpkins, and others of that company of many kinds and conditions who marched out of his imagination into the region of romance and into the hearts of his readers, we can see that he had a right to be impatient over the belittlement he suffered, and then shyly, impulsively, it may be not too adroitly, should endeavour to assert himself with those, his friends as he regarded them, whose brains were possibly keener than his, because their hearts assuredly were colder.

He was a very great man, as Johnson saw when the natural mistakes of his life were forgotten through the intervention of Death. Clean-hearted and large-hearted, with never the faintest breath of scandal to tarnish his name; using his pen always, even in his hack-work, for the pure enjoyment or the instruction of his readers, while in his best work championing frankly and courageously the right human causes; ever simple, true, and kindly, unspeakably generous, humble-minded and unaffected—except when it seemed necessary for Dr Goldsmith to let those who decried him see that he was an opinionated and a capable fellow—and very often very lonely. His best works are as rich a delight now as ever they were; not so much because they are intellectual achievements compelling admiration for their cleverness and power; but because with those qualities they are informed and inspired with his own natural sweet and gallant personality. In those respects Goldy is to be bracketed with Elia, and possibly—to enter another realm of art—with Mozart. Such as they are the most beneficent sons and spirits of the Earth; for, through their works and especially through their characters, they have strengthened the foundations on which the best and noblest purposes and truest well-being of humanity are established.

MARTIN G. WELSH.

Art. 7.—ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL RE-
SEARCH IN AND NEAR ROME, 1908-1928.

1. *Storia degli Scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*. By R. Lanciani. Vols III, IV. Rome: Loescher, 1907-1912.
2. *Ancient Rome*. By S. B. Platner. Second Edn. Boston, U.S.A.: Allyn and Bacon, 1911. (Reprinted, 1918.)
3. *Formæ Urbis Romæ Antiquæ*. By H. Kiepert and Ch. Hülsen. Second Edition. Berlin: Reimer, 1912.
4. *The Roman Forum*. By Ch. Hülsen. Second Edition. Rome: Loescher, 1909.
5. *The Forum and the Palatine*. By Ch. Hülsen. Translated by H. H. Tanzer. New York: Bruderhausen, 1928.
6. *La Zona Archeologica di Roma*. By G. Lugli. Rome: G. Bardi, 1924; and translated by G. Bagnani under the title *The Classical Remains of Rome and its Vicinity*. Vol. I. Rome: G. Bardi, 1928.
7. *A Topographical Dictionary of Rome*. By the late S. B. Platner and Dr Thomas Ashby. Oxford University Press (forthcoming).
8. *Ostia*. By G. Calza. Translated by R. Weeden-Cooke. Milan and Rome: Bestetti and Tuminelli, n.d.
9. *La Villa Sabina di Orazio* (in *Monumenti dei Lincei*, xxxi, col. 457-598). By G. Lugli. Rome: Bardi, 1926.
10. *Horace at Tibur and the Sabine Farm*. By G. H. Hallam. Second Edn. Harrow School Bookshop, 1922.
11. *Forma Italiæ: Regio I, Latium et Campania*. Vol. I, *Ager Pomptinus. Pars I, Anxur-Tarracina; Pars II, Circeii*. Descripsit Josephus Lugli. Rome: Danesi, 1926-1928.

THE progress of archæological and topographical research in Rome and its vicinity during the period under review has been considerable, and it is not yet by any means at an end; for, however desirable it might be to proclaim a close time for excavation until we have had leisure to absorb the results, it is not possible to do so under the present circumstances. In fact, the excavations of the Forum and the Palatine, the central sites, not only of Rome itself, but of the Roman world, are not by any means complete. They have not as yet

reached a point at which they could be suspended without leaving a feeling of dissatisfaction in the mind of every one; and the reports of what has hitherto been done, which had already fallen regrettably far behind, are now, owing to Prof. Boni's long illness which ended in his death in 1924, very seriously in arrear. Before the committee which has charge of the publication can begin to give us the full results of its labours, it will undoubtedly have to complete the clearing of such sites as the Basilica Æmilia and the garden of the Villa Mills (which, it is already abundantly clear, formed part of the site of the palace of Domitian, and cannot have contained the temple of Apollo); and if the results of the difficult stratigraphical work which Boni did are ever to be given to the world, it may have to reopen a number of his section pits, which were scattered all over the Forum. But along with these sites, which have long been secured to public possession in perpetuity, there has been a strong desire on the part of the present Government of Italy to bring to light some of the more important monuments of Imperial Rome, which lie in the inhabited portion of the city, and to free them from the accretions of subsequent ages by which they were disfigured and concealed.

Then, again, the development of the modern city as such has been and is still going on; so that the processes of change which we noticed in Rome at the beginning of a previous article upon this same subject,* have continued with even greater rapidity during the last twenty years, during which the population has once more doubled itself. The rate of growth has been more rapid than that of any other city in Italy, and the pace shows no signs of slackening. This is due to the increase in the trade and wealth of the country, and the desire of the new regime to place Rome, as the capital of Italy, on a level with the capitals of other great European countries. The city has now extended far beyond the Aurelian walls on almost every side, the new quarters not having been, as every one now recognises that they should have been, concentrated on the high ground on the east, near the railway station, but allowed to grow up haphazard; and the result has been,

* 'Quarterly Review,' No. 416, July 1908, pp. 101-122.

as was predicted, a compromise between the imperious needs of modern life and the desire to preserve the character of the city of Rome which is not altogether satisfactory, and will become more difficult to maintain as time goes on. Traffic in the centre of Rome is already sufficiently difficult to regulate; but the streets cannot be widened without pulling down numerous buildings of considerable artistic or historic interest—or, we may say at least, even if these are preserved, without destroying their surroundings and therewith much of their charm. The promoters of some of the newest schemes for the embellishment of the capital seem to be entirely oblivious of the fact that the 'isolation' of an ancient monument, such as the Pantheon, will in all probability make it look, not grandiose, but insignificant. And if the remains of the Mausoleum of Augustus are to be freed from the mean houses which enclose them, and made the terminal point of a new Via Imperiale, according to Signor Brasini's ambitious scheme, the result will be even more disastrous; for it is now a mere ruin of great interest, but of no particular beauty: its original proportions are no longer preserved, and none of its external facing is left; whereas the Mausoleum of Hadrian still retains something of its ancient appearance and scale.

In the circumstances, while the special bibliography of the subject has enormously increased, and numerous articles and monographs have been written on individual buildings and problems, the authors of topographical works dealing with the city as a whole have mainly confined their activities to the production of new editions; for the moment has not come, and, so far as one can see, will not come for a considerable time, when it will be possible to take stock quietly of the additions to our knowledge, and produce a topographical treatise which is not liable to be superseded for some considerable period.* It is, further, greatly to be deplored that the sudden death of Edmondo Gatti

* My own experience in preparing for the press the 'Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome,' of which Prof. Platner had done about three-quarters before his untimely and sudden death in 1921, has shown that it is impossible to reach finality, and that changes are so constantly occurring that alterations would perpetually be necessary were one to strive to be absolutely 'up to date.' In it will be found, however, full references to more detailed publications, which it is impossible to enumerate here.

has deprived us of the hope that Lanciani's 'Forma Urbis Romæ' would within a reasonably near future be brought and kept up to date; so that such a work would lack the solid basis of a really good and recent archæological plan of Rome. In the meantime, however, we may to some extent be consoled by the reflection that the delay will render it possible to incorporate the results of the renewed study of the fragments of the Marble Plan of Rome of Septimius Severus, which has been undertaken by a committee of which Hülsen is a member. Hülsen's book on the Forum and the Palatine, published during the present year, is a very readable and well illustrated account of what has been done up to the present, with an excellent bibliography; though those who desire to follow the course of discovery on the spot will regret that circumstances have prevented the publication of a third edition of the 'Roman Forum' and of a similar volume dealing with the Palatine in a portable form. The need has been to a considerable extent supplied by Lugli's handy volume, which, especially in its English form, will be found very welcome, though it naturally does not go into quite so much detail. This deals with the central area of the ancient city, which, as every one knows, does not by any means coincide with that of mediæval Rome. Indeed, a considerable space has been definitely preserved from encroachment, and is now the property of the nation, extending from the Colosseum to the Porta Appia (S. Sebastiano) of the Aurelian wall, and including the Circus Maximus (the excavation of which has just been begun), the first section of the Via Appia, the thermæ of Caracalla, etc. The third and fourth volumes of Lanciani's 'Storia degli Scavi,' which take us to the beginning of the 17th century, are, like the first two, a mine of information; and it is greatly to be hoped that this valuable work may be continued.

If we now turn to the additions to our knowledge of ancient Rome which have been made by the discoveries of the past twenty years, we shall find practically nothing of first-rate importance to record in the Forum, while a considerable advance has been made in the investigation of the Palatine. The researches into the lower strata at the south-west corner of the hill, which

had been commenced by his predecessor Vaglieri, were unfortunately abandoned by Boni as soon as he assumed charge of the Palatine—although it would certainly have been far more satisfactory to have attempted to arrive at some definite result—and the interpretation of what has been found is by no means easy.

Two archaic circular cisterns built in soft grey tufa (cappellaccio), one with a beehive vault, the other open to the air, may be assigned to the seventh or sixth century B.C.; and there would appear to be remains of tombs or hut foundations or both; while, as Hülsen remarks, 'it becomes obvious that structures of large blocks which students formerly liked to call "Romulean" are really to be dated as from a much later period, perhaps not earlier than the fourth century B.C.'

Another chamber with a beehive roof, lined with blocks of the same kind of soft tufa, was found in 1914 under the north-eastern part of the peristyle of the Domus Augustiana (the palace as rebuilt by Domitian); in the centre of it a circular shaft descends to two rock-cut passages, which form a right-angled triangle, and then meet again in a domed chamber, also cut in the rock. At the time of its discovery this was explained as the *mundus*, a holy place connected with the worship of the gods of the underworld, and often identified with 'Roma Quadrata' in the more restricted sense—not as the four-cornered city that Romulus founded on the Palatine, but as a shrine in which were kept various sacred objects connected with its foundation. Some scholars still hold to this theory—or, as there were probably more *mundi* than one, call it at least a *mundus*. The question is, however, as yet unsettled, for the name, as restricted to the *mundus*, may be a late antiquarian invention. Much information has also been gained concerning the condition of the Palatine in the first century before Christ, when it was known to have been mainly occupied by the houses of wealthy Romans, such as Cicero and his brother, his rival Hortensius, Milo, Mark Antony, and others; and while it is not possible to identify the exact sites of these buildings (with one exception, to which we shall immediately allude), the remains of several nameless houses of the end of the Republic may be pointed out.

Thus, there are two of them under the great state-rooms on the north-east side of the peristyle of the palace of Domitian, which have been built right over them, and have thus led to their preservation. The earlier of the two, under the so-called *Lararium*, has paintings belonging to the first phase of the second Pompeian style, which are entirely architectural, and have no figured decoration, being confined to the imitation of marble slabs and friezes and rusticated masonry. In one of the rooms, however, is a fine group of two griffins, with a plant with large volutes between them, executed in relief in white stucco on a red ground.

The frescoes of the other house, lying under the Basilica, belong to the later phase of the second Pompeian style, and include some fine paintings with various small scenes in an elaborate architectural framework. The perspective of this framework is here, as in other cases, largely fictitious, and it seems to me impossible to resist the conclusion that the art of scene painting for the theatre must have had a very considerable influence upon decorations of this kind. These particular frescoes were copied a couple of centuries ago by Francesco Bartoli, Pier Leone Ghezzi, and Gaetano Piccini, and their elaborate coloured drawings are still preserved in the Topham Collection in the Library at Eton, in the Coleraine Collection at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the Hofbibliothek at Vienna, and at the Vatican.* Unfortunately their accuracy is not altogether above reproach; in fact, when Dr Topham found discrepancies, especially in the colours, between some of his drawings and those at Holkham, and complained to his agent, the latter informed him that Bartoli was in the habit of keeping his original notes and sketches entirely to himself, and, indeed, of deliberately introducing arbitrary variations of detail and colour for fear the drawings might be copied or engraved by others; and he assured his patron that he might rest content that his collection was 'the most correct of any of the drawings that have come from Bartoli's hands.'

* Information as to other drawings of the kind will be found in my articles on 'Drawings of Ancient Paintings in English Collections' ('Papers of the British School at Rome,' VII, VIII).

We can point to the sites of a few other Republican houses on the Palatine which have been obliterated by the buildings of the Empire, so that little more than mere traces exist; but there is one house, which has paintings of the same period as that just described, which met with a very different fate. Ever since its discovery in 1869 (though a fragment of fresco* from it was found in 1730, so that the excavators must have come on it at that date and gone no further), it has been known as the house of Livia, but it has also been identified with the house of Germanicus. Recent study has, however, shown that we have in it, in all probability, the 'modest dwelling of Hortensius, which was remarkable neither for size nor elegance' in which Suetonius tells us that Augustus lived.

Why, after all, should the house of Livia alone have been spared when all the other houses of the same kind were buried under the foundations of the far more splendid palaces of the Empire? If we contemplate the huge substructions which first Tiberius, then Domitian, and then Hadrian erected on the north-east side of the hill (the last-named constructing enormous arches over the Clivus Victoriæ) when it would have been so easy to destroy or build over this particular house, we shall realise that there must have been some special reason for its preservation. And if this is the house of Augustus we must with O. L. Richmond seek the atrium in which the Senate met on the further side of the (modern) road at the south-west; and the temple of Apollo must be identified with the great podium facing south-west, i.e. towards the Aventine, which lies close by. Recent excavations have still more clearly shown what might have been ascertained before—that this temple was only constructed after the destruction of another dwelling-house at the very end of the Republican period; and, as we have record of the construction of the temple of Apollo after the battle of Actium, whereas the history of the temple of Jupiter Victor or Propugnator is practically unknown to us, it is natural that we should think that the demolition of this house took place at the time when it was necessary to provide a site for this great sanctuary.

* The fragment went with other Farnese antiques to the Naples museum.

Nor is this the only argument in our favour; though, on the other hand, it must be admitted that certain portions of our literary evidence, and especially Ovid's famous description of the arrival of his book in Rome, while its author languished in exile,* fits in better with another site—the area of the Vigna Barberini, above the arch of Titus, which is that favoured by Hülsen.

Here, however, all that is visible seems to belong to the time of Domitian; but we can, as a fact, see nothing but the supporting walls by which the area is surrounded; and it is greatly to be wished that this knotty point of Roman topography might be settled by excavation; for, though the Temple was destroyed by fire in 363 A.D., it must, one would think, have left some traces behind. The new excavations, coupled with careful study of the remains already exposed to view, in which, among others, Prof. Esther B. Van Deman has taken a prominent part, have also added considerably to our knowledge of the history of the Palatine during the first century of the Empire. While Augustus was content with a modest dwelling, Tiberius erected a large palace on the north-west summit of the hill, overlooking the Forum. The site is now occupied by a lovely garden; and excavation, if undertaken (and the plan is, as a fact, already known to us), would probably produce but little, as the depth of soil is not great. But at the bottom of the hill we have considerable traces of a great peristyle which must have been the extension constructed by Caligula, 'who built out a part of the palace as far as the Forum, making the temple of Castor and Pollux its vestibule' as Suetonius tells us. With it must have been connected a monumental approach to the Palatine, resembling probably that which Domitian and Hadrian constructed after the palace of Tiberius had been destroyed by the fire of Titus—a series of inclined planes immediately behind the huge 'complex' of buildings including the 'temple of Augustus'† and the church of S. Maria Antiqua.

* 'Trist.', III, 1. 21.

† See 'Quarterly Review,' July 1908, p. 110. Some doubts have recently been cast on this identification, for no traces of the original temple have been found below the building of Domitian. On the other hand, it is difficult, if not impossible, to find another site for the temple, which was still in existence in 248 A.D.

On the other, the south-east, summit of the Palatine the first emperor of whose activity we have certain traces is Nero. The remains of earlier structures which have come to light under the peristyle and the triclinium of Domitian's palace are rightly attributed to the *Domus Transitoria*. They must have been found in a far better state of preservation in 1721, but, as Elisha Kirkhall records in the text to his coloured engravings* (in which he calls them 'Augustus' bath'), they were 'barbarously defaced and broken in pieces . . . and the broken pieces sent to Parma.' The main portion visible on the lower level consists of a sunk garden, with a magnificent fountain all along one wall; in the centre were two pavilions with small columns, with garden beds between them. On one side is a room (fortunately not found in 1721) with extremely beautiful paintings, representing scenes from the Homeric cycle, of remarkable richness and delicacy—as is also what remains of the polychrome marble pavement and wall facing. These frescoes have unfortunately not yet been published; but two other rooms on the other side, which have been accessible since 1721, and were known as the Baths of Livia, have frequently been illustrated. There is also a very large latrine, interpreted by some as a machinery chamber for a hydraulic lift. On the upper floor, which lies only three or four feet below the pavements of the palace of Domitian (which had one floor only for the most part, so that these earlier structures were buried deep below ground), is a very fine marble pavement of bold design, which, when excavated, showed the clearest possible traces of damage by fire—and that fire undoubtedly the fire of Nero. For between these remains of the *Domus Transitoria* (so-called because it was intended to join the Palatine to the Gardens of Mæcenas on the Esquiline) there are some irregular curving foundations, which must belong to what little Nero was able to do on the Palatine in the course of the construction of the great *Domus Aurea*. The main palace of the Golden House was, of course, situated above the Colosseum, and was destroyed and covered up by the Baths of Trajan.

* The only copies known to me are in the Topham Library at Eton. They are not even mentioned in the article on Kirkhall in Thieme-Becker's 'Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler.'

Recent investigations have rendered many more of its rooms accessible, and a number of other paintings—most of them already known to the artists of the Renaissance—have been brought to light. The poverty of their execution is remarkable, if they are compared with those of the *Domus Transitoria*; and the fame of the painter Fabullus who executed them could only have rested on a few special rooms, and not on the decorations as a whole. Good or bad, however, Roman painters almost invariably suffered from self-imposed limitations. Instead of treating a wall as a whole, they began by subdividing it into small sections by means of an architectural framework, and then painting comparatively small scenes in the spaces that remained. As I have already pointed out,* the smallness of the paintings of the *columbaria*, 'which was well enough adapted for the decoration of little chambers with their tiny niches, was imitated by the artists of the time of Nero in the decoration of the lofty rooms of which they were fond, where, however, it was most unsuitable.' The main palace of the *Domus Aurea*, which lies under the *Thermæ* of Trajan, is now included, with the *thermæ* themselves, in a separate park, which was only recently inaugurated, and will thus be preserved from further damage or encroachment. But there are various outlying sections of it—and, notably, the vestibule, which was situated on the site later occupied by the temple of Venus and Rome, and was approached by a monumental portico on each side of the *Sacra Via*, which was converted into a private avenue by Nero, whose appropriation of the whole of the centre of Rome gave rise to more than one epigram at his expense. The massive foundations of these porticoes have been identified by Prof. Van Deman, but little remains of the superstructure; most of the travertine blocks of the pillars have been pilfered by searchers for building material, but have left their impressions upon the concrete of the later brickfaced walls, which were built between the arcades when they were converted into storehouses. Besides the porticoes on each side of the *Sacra Via*, there were others flanking the *Clivus Palatinus* as far as an arch, attributed to Domitian, but

* 'Papers of the British School at Rome,' VII, 123.

certainly earlier than Nero, the foundations of which have recently been brought to light.*

Returning to the Palatine, we may notice the removal of the familiar Villa Mills, where Lady Blessington passed her last evening in Rome, in company with two well-known antiquaries, Sir William Gell (who at first was part owner of it) and Edward Dodwell.† The disappearance of such a landmark may be regretted, though no one could pretend that its Strawberry Hill Gothic architecture of a century ago was in the best taste. But apparently it would have cost more to keep it up than to pull it down—so much more solid were the ancient Roman walls than those of last century—and at least what is left of the residential portion of Domitian's palace will be visible, though not so much as the views of the 16th century show us. Between the Villa Mills and the uppermost seats of the Circus Maximus lay a great peristyle, the complete excavation of which would mean the sacrifice of a group of beautiful cypresses; but a staircase leading down to its level has recently been cleared, which is especially remarkable for its modern character. It descends on one side of a light well, at the bottom of which was a fountain, paved with slabs of white marble, so that as much light as possible might be reflected into the adjoining rooms by arched openings arranged for the purpose.

The excavation of the Circus Maximus has barely begun; but when it is completed, even though not very much is likely to be found, it will certainly be an important link between the Palatine and the *Passeggiata Archeologica*, an enclosed park which extends south-eastwards from it so as to include the site of the *Porta Capena* and the first portion of the *Via Appia* (though the wide curving avenue which leads through it is not a good representation of the straight, narrow highway which, as yet unexcavated, lies several feet below) and the Baths of Caracalla. In the Baths themselves interesting investigations have been carried out; a great deal of further light has been thrown on the arrangements for

* It is opposite to the point at which Hülsen would place the entrance to the precinct of Apollo, and would certainly have interfered with its symmetry.

† 'Idler in Italy,' III, 1.

storage, service, and drainage in this immense structure, the planning of which below ground is even more marvellous than it is above the surface, with its complicated foundations and its network of corridors and passages. It has been made quite clear that the central hall was in no way heated, and that the name 'tepidarium' must, here and elsewhere (e.g. in the Baths of Diocletian, the central hall of which is now the church of S. Maria degli Angeli), be given up. The outer enclosure or peribolus which enclosed the main block of the thermæ has also been studied, and one of the rooms has been found to be a library, with traces of its internal arrangements—low steps leading up to niches, in which the manuscripts were kept, and pedestals for busts between the niches. A corresponding hall at the other end of the stadium is entirely ruined. In one of the subterranean passages under these subsidiary buildings a very large sanctuary of Mithras was placed in the fourth century after Christ; its internal arrangements are very well preserved, and it is, therefore, of considerable interest. Another important Mithræum, of a considerably earlier date, under the church of S. Clemente, originally discovered in 1861, has been freed from the water which until lately rendered it inaccessible; and it too adds considerably to our knowledge of this interesting cult, the popularity of which was largely due to the hope of a new life which it gave to those to whom the traditional state religion had nothing to offer.

We may now turn to the Imperial Fora, where a considerable amount of work has already been done, and more must follow, as soon as the long-delayed solution of the traffic problem of the access from the modern Via Cavour to the Piazza Venezia, through the narrow space between the Quirinal and the Capitol, is taken in hand. For the moment the first measure that has been decided upon is the boring of a tunnel under the Capitol, which will render it possible to divert a considerable amount of traffic (and notably all the trams) from the Piazza Venezia. But a complication has arisen from the fact that, not only are the two temples which were known to exist in front of the Teatro Argentina unexpectedly well preserved and interesting, but a third and a fourth

have recently come to light; so that the systematisation of the whole area presents unexpected difficulties.

In the meantime, the whole of the north-east half of the Forum of Augustus, with the temple of Mars Ultor, has been cleared, and an extremely impressive ensemble has thus been created. With the exception of the three columns already visible, the superstructure of the temple has almost entirely disappeared, having been sacrificed for the construction of a mediæval church, built by Basilican monks in the ninth century. This has now been completely removed, and the temple reconstructed as far as possible, the steps and podium being fairly well preserved. The large semicircular apse or exedra on the south-east side of the forum had already been cleared in 1888-1889, but the Arco dei Pantani, the main opening in the great enclosure wall of the Forum, was filled up to a considerable height, and has only now been opened. It was never used for vehicular traffic, being traversed by steps, and the same was the case with the three smaller openings to the north-west of the temple.

The marble decorations of the north-west exedra, which have been found in a shocking state of mutilation, and have been carefully pieced together as far as possible, may well be held to justify the elder Pliny's opinion that the Forum of Augustus, the Basilica Æmilia,* and the Temple of Peace (of which we cannot judge, as no fragment of it has so far come to light) were the three most beautiful buildings in the world. It apparently contained a hall with a base of an acrolithic colossal statue (possibly the colossal statue of Augustus of which Martial speaks), the ante-chamber to which had a colonnade with some extremely beautiful figures of Caryatides which are only preserved in fragments. In or about the year 1230 the remains of the Forum became the property of the Knights of S. John; and to the reconstruction of their palace in 1465 belong some beautiful Gothic windows and a Renaissance loggia with decorative paintings.

The investigation of the Forum Transitorium has so far made but little progress; but important work has been done in the Forum of Trajan. The north-eastern hemicycle, partly cleared in 1828 and again studied by

* 'Quarterly Review,' July 1908, p. 110.

Boni in 1906, has been connected with a series of stairways and chambers, which lead up to the higher level above it. Here a road called the *Via Biberatica* ran along the upper curve of the hemicycle; and on it opened a great hall, which is something like a basilica in plan: the vaulting springs from corbels, which are placed in the piers by which the lateral galleries are supported. A number of other brick structures extend almost as far as the mediæval *Torre delle Milizie*; and similar buildings have been found in the garden of the former *Villa Aldobrandini*, now the *Istituto Internazionale per il Diritto Privato*.

On the other side of the Capitol, at the southern extremity of the *Campus Martius*, lie the portico of *Octavia* and the theatre of *Marcellus*, both of which are in process of being cleared from the modern houses which have up till now in large measure concealed them from view, and are being excavated down to their original level. The portico was in reality erected by *Augustus* in the name of his sister, while the theatre was a memorial of his well-beloved nephew; and it is a curious coincidence that the excavation of the interior of the *Mausoleum of Augustus* has led to the discovery of a block of marble bearing inscribed upon it the names of *Marcellus* and his mother. *Marcellus* was the first whose remains were placed in the mausoleum; and it is again a coincidence that the base of a statue of *Nerva*, the last individual, so far as we know, to find a permanent resting-place here, should also have come to light in the comparatively limited portion that it has been possible to examine. A good deal has been found out concerning its internal structure, though it will be well to await the conclusion of the excavations before going further into detail. It is only to be deplored that *Cordingley's* restoration* was inevitably made without full knowledge of what had been discovered; though he had been able to ascertain that the mausoleum had a circular external wall (constructionally unimportant, but decoratively supremely so), and that the great semicircular niches which occupy so prominent a place on all the plans were purely constructional.

One of the discoveries which has undoubtedly excited

* In '*Papers of the British School at Rome*,' x.

the public mind as much as any that has been made in Rome during recent years, has been that of the subterranean basilica on the left of the Via Prænestina, just outside the Porta Maggiore. The circumstances in which it occurred were indeed sufficiently remarkable. During the war, in 1917, the earth gave way beneath the main railway line out of Rome, the embankment of which, it was found, lay at that point precisely over the light shaft of the vestibule. Investigations were made, and it was soon seen that the shaft had given light and air to a most remarkable underground building, which, having a nave with an apse and two aisles separated from it by four arches supported by massive masonry pillars, anticipated in a most unexpected manner the form of the primitive Christian church, and gave the death-blow to numerous theories that had been advanced as to its origin. Not less remarkable were the stucco reliefs which decorated both the vestibule and the basilica itself, the former showing traces of colour, the latter being pure white. Their subjects were many and various, and often difficult of interpretation—so much so, that they have given rise to considerable discussion. Some scholars consider that they fit in with what we know of the tenets of Pythagoreanism, with its hell on earth and heavenly paradise, and, therefore, believe the building to have been the place of worship of a Pythagorean sect; others see in it the hall of a funerary college whose tombs were in the neighbourhood, but whose members, as Mrs Strong maintains, ‘aimed at the higher and purer forms of mysticism,’ the subjects alluding in every case to initiation and purification; while others* prefer (though I cannot find myself in agreement with them) to see in it merely a place of burial, and find no more recondite symbolism in the reliefs than the triumph of life over death persisting through them all.

In the same district of Rome, a couple of years later, a remarkable tomb of the period of the Severi came to light during the construction of a garage, with paintings the interpretation of which has proved perhaps even

* The chief representative of this view is Bendinelli, who is responsible for the fully illustrated official publication in ‘*Monumenti dei Lincei*,’ **xxxi** (1927), 601-859.

more puzzling. In the upper chamber are clear representations of Adam and Eve; while in the lower is a series of large figures which can hardly be other than the Apostles, among whom a portrait of S. Peter (the earliest we have) seems to be recognisable with a reasonable degree of certainty. Above them, however, is a remarkable series of scenes, in which while the Sermon on the Mount may be clearly recognised, the other representations have hitherto baffled attempts at interpretation. Wilpert maintains that they are Gnostic, but eclectic, while an even later theory is that they are Montanist; and it is perhaps not impossible that there was a certain amount of intentional camouflage, so that their Christian character might not be perceived by pagan visitors to the tomb, which was by no means concealed from view, as it was a structure of two or three stories.

Another remarkable building of a still later period, which has come to light on the Via Salaria, seems to lie on the borderland between the Pagan and Christian periods—a baptistery, as it seems, with paintings which are still inspired by pagan mythology; and not far off have been found the Catacombs of Pamphilus, containing a large number of niches which have hitherto not been violated, and still have the small objects—coins, statuettes, glass vessels, and so forth—by which those who were too poor to afford an inscribed slab designated the last resting-place of the members of their family.

The interesting discoveries under S. Sebastiano on the Via Appia have already been described in the 'Quarterly Review,' and therefore need not be dealt with further here.* There are many other points upon which we might touch; but this cannot aspire to be a complete survey of all that has been done; and if we turn to the neighbourhood of Rome, we shall find equally remarkable progress to record. Here, too, it is, naturally, impossible to deal with all the sites where interesting discoveries have been made; but in a succeeding article I hope to do something about a few of the more important.

THOMAS ASHBY.

(To be continued.)

* October 1925: H. Stuart Jones, 'The Apostles in Rome,' and especially pp. 400 *sqq.*

**Art. 8.—AGRICULTURE IN WALES : THE LESSON FOR
ENGLISH FARMERS.**

IF we turn to the latest statistics of production in England and Wales we shall find that, while the corn area is steadily declining in England, it has become a comparatively negligible quantity throughout the Principality of Wales. So far as wheat is concerned, it may be doubted whether in 1928 20,000 acres will be returned under this important crop ; the barley area may be twice as much, while oats, being in demand on the farm, are grown largely for home consumption ; but less than 15 per cent. of the cultivable area of Wales is under corn, and the most of this is merely planted because of the system of temporary grasses. The Welsh farmer plants a grass ley to stand for any period from five to ten years, then, when it is run out, he proceeds to take advantage of the stored nitrogen by planting one or possibly two white straw crops in succession, followed by roots and then barley, if the land should permit, with clovers sown at the same time, so that when the barley crop is harvested the clovers have taken their hold. Other grasses are added and the ley is fully established once more. It will be seen from this that corn is planted chiefly for its passing economic advantage and not because it is held to compete with the grass. In short, the Welsh farmer is a herdsman and dairyman, and in so far as the English farmer appears to be moving away from arable cultivation, the practice and experience of the Principality are worth serious consideration.

Outside the area of the favoured watering-places and beauty spots, Wales is not a country that is explored to any considerable extent by English visitors. To the wild places of Cardigan, Merioneth, Montgomery, and Radnor few visitors come ; you may travel for many miles and many days and encounter only Welshmen in pursuit of their lawful occasions. The Farm Schools, admirably conducted and doing useful work, are situated somewhere as 'far off the earth' as is geographically possible, and altogether Wales seems to be remote and inaccessible, though it would be hard to find in the course of travel a more kindly, hospitable people or one

more friendly to strangers whose interest in their concerns is after all, in some measure, an intrusion.

Certainly the position in Wales is the more significant because of the prairie tendency of England. Everywhere we find on the English farm an increasing area laid down to grass, an increasing reliance upon milk and meat. One of the most powerful financial combinations in the history of agriculture is working to develop grass cultivation along defined lines, and the effect of its teaching is felt far and wide. While there is little or no encouragement for the arable farmer, while experts frankly incite him to forsake his traditional practice, dairying and the intensive production of mutton and beef occupy the attention of the country's agricultural advisers. Now, in these circumstances Wales must have much to teach us, because it relies almost entirely upon those acts of husbandry which are coming into favour over its border. The chief difference is that in Wales we have mountain and hill sheep farming, while in England we have more valleys and a richer pasture, but in a very few years it is probable that even the hill grazings of the Principality will vie with our own, because the work of the Plant Breeding Station at Aberystwyth, to which some reference will be made later, is full of vital significance for the future of stock raising. Pedigree grasses that will thrive on hillsides now bare may be said to be in sight.

Wales is essentially an agricultural country outside the region of the coal measures, and though these are important in quality their relation to the whole area of the Principality is comparatively negligible. The majority of the Welsh counties are purely agricultural, and the men who live in them are, for the most part, without alternative occupations. They are faced with long, severe winters and excessive rainfall, a lack of adequate marketing facilities, a railway service that is less than adequate; but in spite of these difficulties they contrive to carry on. It is worth noting how this is done and why hard times fail to breed discontent.

In the first place Wales is a smallholders' country, though one must not restrict the term to the special significance given by the Ministry of Agriculture which limits it to farms of no more than fifty acres. The

average Welsh farm is round about 100 acres, less rather than more, eighty perhaps is a fairly representative figure, and on a farm of this size you find a man, his wife, and their children working steadily from the rising of the sun even to the going down thereof, for seven days a week throughout the year. Husband and lads do the hard work, the ploughing up of leys, the harvesting and carrying of the scanty crops, the feeding of the stock; wife and daughters look after the dairy, do the cooking, attend to the house, keep the poultry, and take on any emergency job that is regarded as being within their province. The farmer pays no wages to his children, he gives the boys just enough pocket money to keep them at home and the girls sufficient to supply them with the necessities of dress. Amusements, outside the restricted area of the Women's Institutes and Village Clubs, are limited to the Eisteddfod and those literary meetings, sometimes competitive, which do so much to help the remote rural districts during the winter months. Transport is only just coming with the motor bus and may work great changes, but down to the present, distractions have been all to seek. There is no reason why the farmer's family should do anything but work, and, as the result of unending labour, he has been able despite bad seasons to pay his rent, feed and dress the wife and children—and provide cattle dealer and higgler with a good living. One finds that the inaccessible places are being brought into touch with life through the medium of the motor bus; in the next few years intercourse with the world outside may promote discontent, because the farmer's children lead a very hard life, and when he dies and his little property comes to be divided among them, the return is trifling and inadequate. In other words, the children work as hard as the labourer but without the advantage that the Agricultural Wages Board has conferred, and it is extremely unlikely that the average farmer of eighty acres can leave enough to make up for the privations that have been accepted by his offspring. On the larger holdings in Wales, say from 100 acres and upward, the position is rather different. It should be remarked in this connexion that there are very few large farms in the Principality, the latest returns showing

less than 400, but on farms of 100 up to 300 acres, and there are in all about 7500 of these, the living-in system prevails. The farmer engages unmarried men at the hiring fairs for periods of a year, and they live on the premises. They have their meals with the family, sleep in the house, or if there should be insufficient accommodation, over the stables or cowhouse, and the 15s. deducted from their weekly wage is as good an investment as they could hope to make. The home association has the further benefit of fostering a good understanding between master and men; one hears that on many of the places where living-in is practised the men are not too particular about hours, but are always ready to do a little extra work in seasons of emergency, while, on the other hand, the farmer will see that they have the advantage of slack times, and that, on the whole, he does not exceed the hours that he pays for. In the old days this living-in system was so firmly established that unmarried men looked to it as part of their experience, but of late certain difficulties have arisen and the popularity of the practice is waning. The reason is simple enough. The housewife who must cater for part of the staff finds that she can get little or no assistance from the countryside; the girls who were accustomed to look to domestic service for their means of livelihood are now turning to the towns, the shops, or the factories; they will not, if they can help themselves, endure the restraints of a hard-working life on a remote homestead. Consequently, the farmer's wife and her daughters must do the cooking and house-work for the unmarried assistants who live in, and as the women of the house have their share of the farming duties as well, they are finding the strain too much, and in several counties that the writer visited he was assured that the practice is tending to die out. Another contributory factor is a different spirit in the rising generation, probably one of the results of the Great War. In the old days the farmer in comfortable circumstances could have two tables in his kitchen, one for himself and his family and the other for his dependents, and he could establish certain scales of dietary that emphasised what he regarded as a reasonable distinction between the employer and the employed. To-day that is im-

possible. The workers insist upon equality of treatment, and the man who says he will not treat them as members of the family is likely to find difficulty in filling vacancies. It follows on this account that both the farmer and his wife are looking about for a means to end the old living-in custom, but at present they find the task extremely hard because there is a very considerable shortage of cottages throughout Wales; only one county, Montgomeryshire, would appear able to claim a surplus. There were years when instead of a shortage there was a glut, when men could have their choice, and there were villages that held more cottages than workers, but when the bad agricultural crisis came, towards the end of last century, thousands of farm workers left the country for the towns, or found work on the mines, and their cottages were allowed to fall into ruin. To be sure many of them were built of stone and could put up a stout resistance to the weather, but the roof was the weak spot; all too often that was thatched, and as the weather came through, the cottage gradually fell to ruin. To-day you may pass through villages and see little mounds of stones where five and twenty years ago desirable cottages were still standing. Nobody can afford to build, because the rent that the farmer may charge gives him no return on his outlay, and to-day, not only the farmer owner will decline to enlarge existing accommodation but the big landlord, the man who is holding on to his estates with a fine courage and the determination to make the very best of hard conditions, finds that he is in no position to undertake new enterprise. It is as much as he can do to keep farm premises and cottages in decent repair; beyond this he cannot go.

The chief factor in the improvement of farm buildings in Wales is the new Milk and Dairies Order. Farmers see a certain profit in milk production and a weekly or monthly return; they are quick to understand that they can only send their milk into the market if they comply with the Ministry's regulations. The weekly or monthly cheque is essential, because it enables current expenses to be met, so since the Ministry insists upon certain standards, dairies, milking sheds, cow houses, and the rest are being brought into line and much excellent work is steadily carried out. The Order, which has been

less criticised in Wales than in England, has really been effective in bringing about very desirable changes. The chief trouble in Wales is that the farm buildings are old-fashioned, and were put up in times when present-day considerations were unthought of, when labour was cheap and plentiful, and there was no need to economise, when machinery was unknown, and acts of husbandry were extremely limited. It is impossible to do without these buildings because they cannot be replaced, and even if they are inconvenient they are very strong, so they are being adapted and put into such repair as is necessary. One hears of farmers who have not waited for the inspectors to visit and advise, but have taken the work into their own hands and carried it out well. The trouble with dairy farming is that it is only profitable where the producer can get into direct touch with the consumer, or where transport charges are low. All round the mining areas and the seaside resorts dairying thrives, but in the remote places where transport is difficult and there are no facilities for turning surplus milk into cheese, the farmer produces for the profit of others.

Looking at the Principality as a whole one sees a tremendous endeavour by some of the hardest-working and most frugal men in the Empire and its frustration in part, one might say in great part, owing to conditions that they suffer but might control. Wales has produced from time immemorial the keenest and cleverest herdsmen in Great Britain and some of the most skilled dairy farmers; they know more about grass than we do in England, the proof being that very many Welshmen take grass farms in the shires that have not paid the tenant and in a very few years are able to retire. It is noticeable that the Welshman comes to England to make money but goes back to his own country to spend it; he is willing to live in England, but prefers to die in Wales. His skill in the handling of grass-land is due to large and varied experience of at least three types of grazing. Wales has its alluvial valley soils, its pastures on the lower hills that have a definite feeding value, and its high ground land of which as much as a couple of acres may be required to afford maintenance to a single ewe. The farmer's problem is to blend what he rents or owns in fashion that will give the largest measure of

feed to his flock and allow him to keep sheep up to the limit of the land's fertility. In the same way he has to consider the question of blending. The hardy Welsh breed will pick up a living on the most barren hills, and though it will come near to starving in the winter months, will not quite succumb. But these Welsh sheep are small and cannot carry much meat, and the Down flocks that make so much more money in the market cannot endure the hills. Where, for example, the lamb of an Oxford Down ewe will die on the lower mountain-side, the lamb of the Welsh ewe will thrive and grow. So the Welsh farmer must breed for his particular holding, mixing his Welsh stock with Cluns and Kerrys, Oxford and South Downs, Brown-Faced Radnors and other varieties, so that at last he can get the greatest possible weight that climatic conditions and the food supply will enable him to carry. There are many sheep farmers in the Principality who have brought this balancing to a state of perfection, and any alteration in the cross that they are accustomed to run would have an unfavourable effect upon weight or hardiness. In order to acquire their skill they have been compelled to master all they can learn about the nature of the grasses, the seasons, the rainfalls, and the varying degrees of shelter that different parts of their holding afford; within the limited range of their endeavour they are experts. In like fashion they have studied the best breed of cattle for their land and their market, and know to a nicety whether it shall be the Hereford or the Native Welsh Black, the increasingly popular Shorthorn or even the Ayrshire. They understand, too, if it will suit them best to raise store cattle and sell before fattening, or to do a certain amount of finishing, and leave some farmer with richer grass-land to complete, or whether they shall go through to the end and send the finished beast to the market. It is very hard indeed to teach them anything about the work in which they specialise, the county advisers have admitted as much, and they are all men richly endowed with local knowledge. Unfortunately the Welsh farmers' gifts are rendered nugatory by two shortcomings. In the first place, they are very slow to accept new teaching, and cling to old-fashioned seed mixtures for their leys, against the expert advice that would make changes to

which they cannot reconcile themselves. Secondly, and this is their far more important failing, they cannot or will not organise the sale of their own produce. If England is badly in the hands of the market ring and the dealer, Wales must be said to be far worse off, for in addition to these sinister figures the farmer's wife has surrendered to the higgler, and the part that this man plays in the agricultural life of the Principality is hard to realise until experiences have been tabulated in each county in turn.

The higgler provides the farmer's wife with a ready market at her door; he saves her the long journey to the little town where every fortnight she can find a sale for butter, eggs, cream, cheese, chickens, and a few vegetables. A higgler called at her mother's house, the farm she left when she went away to be married, and one has probably paid his weekly call ever since she started to keep house. She has learned to accept his ruling about prices and to believe all he tells her about supply and demand, so that every week she delivers up her produce for just a part of its market worth, and he takes it away and makes the profit to which she alone is properly entitled. As he goes from farm to farm and has his regular clients the higgler does very well indeed, and it is a rule among the fraternity that they do not poach each other's preserves; consequently, they find it easy to keep the level of prices down. The farmer's wife must struggle hard to get a living, she finds no encouragement to develop her interests or increase her output; it is significant that in Wales as a result of the higgler's activities the sheep out-number the poultry. To be sure the markets are often far away, the going is not easy, the rainfall is high, and the poultry are a side line. The hen-wife's mother and her grandmother used to ride to market with saddle packs in front of them, here and there an old woman still does so, but the daughters have left that mode of transport far behind, and as the measure of agricultural prosperity does not permit many small farmers to keep any other vehicle than a dog-cart, it seems easier to her to allow the higgler to have his way and to take what he gives her without complaint. The result is that he holds the farm wives of Wales in his pocket, and he will keep

them there until they conquer their dislike for co-operation and unite in their own defence.

As it is with the wife so it is with her husband, only in this case the dealer is to the fore. By far the greater part of the flocks and herds change hands through this intermediary, change sometimes two and three times in a day, each man taking a little bit of the farmer's profit. Here again distances have something to do with the farmer's attitude, and market rings provide yet another factor, though if the truth were told many of the dealers who buy the farmer's stock in the farmyard kitchen are the men he would meet if he took them to the market. They would look on while one of their company did the bidding, and would hold the usual resale in the most convenient public-house at the end of the day. But the dealers know their business, and down to the present have succeeded in quartering the country even more thoroughly than they do in England, because in Wales large market towns are few, and it is only in these that the ring is powerless, because men come from far distances to buy and are prepared to pay a fair price. In the small marts of Wales the attendance is more or less local, and dealers see to it that the bidding is not brisk, unless some man who they think has no business there is trying to make purchases, in which case they will run any lot up until it is high enough for them, in technical parlance, to 'drop it on him.' In other words, they will make him pay more than the purchase is worth as penalty for his error in not coming to terms with them beforehand. The only hopeful outlook, where the dealer in Wales is concerned, results from their success. They have made so much money that they have stirred up competition, and where there was one dealer only a few years ago, there are two or three to-day, with the result that the bidding in the farmyard at least is becoming rather more brisk, but even to-day they will hunt in couples, and one hears of farmers in straitened circumstances who are visited first by one dealer with a very low offer and then by another who improves on it slightly, and carries away the goods and divides the resultant profits with his colleague who called first and established the low-grade offer. Yet the farmer has only himself to blame, because he will not consent on any terms to

co-operate for the sale of his own produce. There are several thriving Societies in the Principality for co-operative buying; they purchase coal, seeds, manures, and machinery on advantageous terms because they can buy in bulk, but when it comes to selling produce, farmers refuse to combine, for the simple reason that they do not want their neighbours to know what they get for their produce. A Welsh farmer will starve before he will talk and his reticence goes to extraordinary lengths. I was told of a man who took a cow and a calf to market and asked six of his neighbours who had done the same thing what price they had been able to secure. The answers were typical. 'I did not do so badly.' 'Not as much as I expected,' 'I was quite satisfied.' 'It is a poor trade.' 'It might have been worse.' 'I'm not complaining.' There was not one man among them who would tell his neighbour what the price was, in order to give him a little guidance when the dealers came to make an offer. The result of their reticence and unintelligent conservatism is and has been for some years past, ever since the War in fact, that the Welsh farmers are working for the dealers, just as their wives are working for the higglers, and these two classes are taking the greater part of whatever profit farming in Wales has to offer. The astonishing thing is that in spite of these difficulties the instinct of the countryman is towards the farm all the time. It is only here and there, in counties like Glamorgan, that men are drawn to the mines, or, in others, such as Carnarvon, the boys take to the sea; in one case the high profits of good times and in the other case the romance must account for these departures from the ordinary rule of life. Not only do men seek the land but those who are engaged in other work like to have some association, however shadowy, with agriculture. Thus we find in the north that the quarrymen of Bethesda will have a cow or two and a little grazing ground for it, if it be but a gait on the hillside; when the agricultural organiser visits a remote quarry-side village to lecture on clean milk or some other agricultural topic, he will find that instead of an audience of a dozen or a score, there are fifty or more, and that most of them have been working underground, and are spending their leisure in learning

something about the pursuit that comes nearest to their hearts. The thirst for agricultural knowledge is to be found in many parts of Wales; in some counties it is associated with a very definite pursuit of general culture. In the wilds of Merionethshire, for example, 50 per cent. of the lads who go to the county continuation classes are on their way to the farms, but they cling to education, and the lecturer who travels in some comfort to remote villages in the harshest of winter weather will find dozens of lads who have tramped over the hillsides under heavy rain after a hard day's work, in order to gather a little learning. Even when they go on to the farms and take up their life task as agricultural labourers they will give what leisure comes their way to the further search for knowledge. Some of them, said one who has done a considerable amount of teaching, are at heart poets and others have a distinct gift of expression in prose; many have acquired some classical knowledge, and the life on the land does nothing to blunt their interest in it. On all sides the standard of agricultural intelligence seems high until we come to the farmer and his wife, who persist in allowing the dealer and the higgler to filch their profits.

It is a hopeful sign that here and there one finds a Young Farmers' Club where all these questions of co-operative endeavour are being discussed eagerly, and the farm schools of Wales offer extraordinary advantages to students for a nominal cost. Some of the figures at Institutes like the Monmouthshire Institution at Usk, the Denbighshire Institute at Llysfas, and the Carnarvonshire Farm School, Madryn Castle, are worth setting out because it will be seen that the facilities offered to boys and girls are of the most tempting kind.

The Monmouthshire Institution is endowed with a part of the surplus funds of the William Jones Charity, and gives students who are resident in the county twenty-two weeks of board, lodging, and tuition for 15*l.*, while those from other areas must pay 32*l.* 10*s.* There are two terms, each of twenty-two weeks, and for an additional 10*s.* medical attendance is provided throughout the year.

Llysfas Farm Institute holds two winter terms of eight weeks between October and March for men, and

two summer terms, from mid-April to the third week in August, for women. The charge for county students for sixteen weeks is 16*l.*, and for those coming from outside the county 20*l.* Madryn Castle gives a twenty-week course to county students for 17*l.* 10*s.* inclusive, those outside the county pay 25*l.* The summer course of dairy instruction between April and July costs residents ten guineas, the others pay 15*l.* It will be seen that the charges for board, lodging, and tuition are extraordinarily low, but neither in the point of food nor accommodation is anything lacking. The rooms are light and airy, and there is just sufficient discipline to maintain order, students and professors being on the most friendly terms. The youngest of the Farm Institutes, Pibwrlwyd, near Carmarthen, promises an equal utility and success.

When we remember that these attractive Institutions are of very modern foundation, and that some of them have already sent out hundreds of trained men and women, it is clear that an era of change is pending, and that in no distant future a generation will take charge that knows whence evil comes, and will bring new ideas and fresh energy to the task of coming into line with modern thought and teaching. In this connexion great work is being done by the University of Wales, and the writer visited two of its most important colleges, Aberystwyth and Bangor. At the first named Prof. Stapledon is carrying out a monumental work that will affect not only Wales but all the land of high rainfall in Great Britain and the Empire, that is to say, it will touch Scotland and south-west England, as well as Wales and parts of Tasmania and New Zealand on the outposts of the Empire. His task is to breed the pedigree grasses that will endure far longer than the commercial mixtures and will develop a much bigger leaf and consequently an increased nutrient value. The work has been going on for ten years, and in another four or five years the new seeds will be on the market as a commercial proposition. Then those bleak mountain-sides of Wales and Scotland, to say nothing of Devon and elsewhere, can be supplied with herbage that will grow freely and richly, giving maintenance to a far larger flock of sheep or head of cattle than may be

found to-day. It should be possible later on, by arranging the breeding season, to have lambs all through the year, to bring beef into condition several months earlier than is possible at present without concentrated food, to maintain a larger dairy herd upon a smaller grazing area, and in short, to revolutionise the whole of the grass-land position in these islands. Already some remarkable results have been achieved and many important lessons learned. To give but one example. The failure of our red clover crop, a fairly frequent occurrence in these islands, has been traced to the lack of pollination by two species of humble bee (*hortorum* and *agrorum*), the only bees that can do this special work, and for breeding purposes Prof. Stapledon keeps his red clovers in bee-proof cages and only admits these two favoured species to pollinate them. In order to encourage the right humble bees he grows woodsage, their favourite flower, and provides nesting boxes. He has even been able to devise means of protecting the grasses that are pollinated by the wind, and the time will come when every farmer will be able to purchase a seed mixture that will respond to his actual needs while, when it deteriorates, as it must, below a certain standard of purity, he will be able to renew it from headquarters where nothing but pedigree seeds are raised. The old careless mixtures will become a thing of the past and the possibilities of stock-raising amplified beyond the limits of normal imagination. An agricultural survey of the whole Principality is being undertaken by Prof. Robinson of Bangor University, and in time to come the nature of all the soil will be known, so that its possibilities, whether for grass or corn production, feeding or haying, will be ascertained to a nicety.

In the meantime one of the worst troubles of the Welsh sheep farmer, a trouble that has touched his English brother too, has been overcome. The disease known as fluke, that affects sheep so badly, is becoming a thing of the past. The liver fluke (*Distomum hepaticum*) takes up its abode in the bile ducts of the sheep and causes liver rot. Dr Montgomerie of Bangor has found a cure, a simple dose of one cubic centimetre of carbon tetrachloride. This dose kills all the big flukes, and repeated a few weeks later kills the immature

ones that have developed to a point at which they are susceptible to the lethal dose. He has also discovered a serum that cures white scour in lambs, and with these two diseases removed, so to speak, from the map, the path of the sheep farmer has been smoothed considerably. In North Wales alone in the year 1922, 200,000 sheep and lambs fell victims to liver fluke, and in our own country from time to time the mortality is very heavy; for many years the nation's loss was reckoned in millions. So far as white scour is concerned, it makes no more than a sporadic appearance in Wales, and is more common in England, but all the work that is being done by the two universities has its reflex benefits on English farming, just as the research that Sir Rowland Biffen and Prof. Wood carry on at Cambridge and Mr Orwin and his colleagues at Oxford helps the Welsh farmer. The men who are concerned with all branches of agricultural work are satisfied, and with reason, that they are working on the right lines, and that time will justify their efforts, but those who are in touch with the farmer and his problems feel sometimes that while grass is growing the horse must starve, and they urge with some force the justification that agricultural science has moved far in advance of agricultural practice.

'It is hopeless,' said one leading authority to the writer, 'for us to help the farmer to keep more sheep on his hill and more cows on his pastures; it is useless for us to advise him to spend more money on manures and to make a real effort to drain his land, to put up buildings that will comply with the Milk and Dairies Order or to improve his seed mixtures, so long as his increased production yields no profit to him. I should like to see a halt called to every University activity and to every training college course while men and women of capacity and good will united in a big effort to solve our main problem—salesmanship. The more milk we produce the richer the combine that handles it, the more cattle that leave the farmers' yards the wealthier the dealer, the more lambs that go to the great markets of London, Manchester, and Salford the bigger the middleman's profits. The farmer is ground down to subsistence level all the time and his improvements yield nothing because whatever their benefit it does not come home to him.'

This, of course, may be an extreme statement, but

there is a very deep substratum of truth. Properly handled, Welsh agriculture would be thriving to-day in spite of bad years and heavy lambing losses due to the hard winter of 1927-28, but it is well known that the great majority of farmers are feeling the pinch, and that many of them find it very hard to make two ends meet, even at the price of continual labour and the cheerful abandonment of the most of life's amenities. Yet they are producing what the country wants, the consumer is paying a very considerable price, and it only needs a fair proportion of that price to reach the farmer for him to enjoy a measure of prosperity, because his skill and his hard work do yield very definite results and his trouble comes only because they are intercepted. To be sure the farmer-owner is in a bad plight because in most cases he bought his land during the boom time as his brother did across the border, and he borrowed money to complete either from the banks or from his friends, and the interest on money that can never come back to him makes his trouble harder than ever. But although this is true of many farmers, there are still more who remain tenants and are under very good landlords, because with the few exceptions in the case of commercial magnates who have bought estates and run them on the strictest business lines without any regard for the troubles of other people, the landlords of Wales have an excellent reputation. They cannot do much in the way of new buildings or even of repairs to old ones, but whatever is within their gift they give and they are spoken of with respect, even with affection, by their tenants. The worst said of the older school is that, in a country where smallholders abound, they preserve too many pheasants and foxes. But the men who hold under landlords who are too exacting in these regards, as in Montgomeryshire, for example, could make money even to-day if they would learn the beginnings of salesmanship, and if they would give a real support to the various enthusiasts who have tried more or less successfully to inculcate the lessons of co-operation. Strange that although men can see it in working where they buy, they are unable to realise what it can do for them when they sell, and although the signs of the times suggest improving conditions,

there is every reason to fear that the old generation of backwoodsmen must die out leaving little behind them save debts before the lessons come home.

To what extent is Wales suffering in its agriculture from existing conditions that far-seeing policy might remedy? It is extremely hard to say, because the small farmer of the hills and the man with the family holding continue to struggle on against adversity with a combination of endurance and a reticence that is astonishing. They will bend to breaking point and nobody will know their troubles, unless it is the auctioneer or the county instructor or some friend who talks of their business to sympathisers. Their one anxiety is to keep going, and no price appears too much to pay for the realisation of this ambition.

It is hard to say that there is any real prosperity in agricultural Wales save in isolated instances. The only county in which the farmer and his wife seem to lead a life that embraces a reasonable amount of leisure is Montgomeryshire, and here, with half a dozen noble rivers providing rich alluvial soil crops are far easier to raise than they are elsewhere. There is more shelter, a milder winter, and a larger opportunity. For many years Montgomeryshire has been turning like the rest of Wales from the plough, but now the swing of the pendulum has come, and it is likely that the arable area is on the increase. One looks in vain for similar improvement elsewhere. *Mam Cymru*, 'The Mother of Wales,' as Anglesey was called, because, Giraldus Cambrensis said, she grew enough wheat for the population of the Principality, has grassed her ploughlands; elsewhere there is no serious attempt at arable farming, partly because it is against the instinct of the people, partly on account of the price of labour and the uncertainty of the markets.

If we learn from what Wales has to teach, it is quite clear that the flight from the plough will lead no man from Egypt to the Land of Goshen. Until marketing methods are improved his increase will be tithed again and again by those who do not share his risks or his expenses; he will labour to benefit the shareholders of combines and of trusts, the gangs that raid the markets and those who stand between producer and consumer.

The Welshman has nothing to learn in the matter of

stock raising, he knows all that is necessary to know about milk production, but he cannot make money, and the English farmer who deserts the plough will find himself in simpler plight unless he will combine to secure a fair return for his labours. This combination cannot be avoided, it is only a matter of time and of a little time at that. The whole question is whether it will come before the middle-aged man of old-fashioned methods has been driven from the land.

In Wales, as in England, the most promising feature of the agricultural situation is the development of the educational side. There are twelve whole-time organisers in Wales, including Monmouthshire, with staffs well able to carry on special work such as horticulture, dairying, poultry keeping, and the care of livestock. The University of Wales, through Cardiff, Aberystwyth and Bangor, is carrying on agricultural research work of the very first importance, and it is significant that the College's mixed farm at Bangor (Aber), comes very near to paying its way, though it employs labour on a generous scale and grows a certain quantity of corn.

Throughout the Principality the young men and women are learning new methods, are thinking new thoughts. Colleges and county schools bring them into touch with one another and make them realise that the farmer's problem is not something that relates only to his own fields but is equally urgent on the fields of his neighbour. In all directions the old barriers are breaking down, better methods are superseding those that have threatened to become obsolete. It is more than likely that within another ten years a new era of agricultural prosperity will have dawned for Wales, and not for Wales alone. The writer, after travelling through England and through the Principality in the past fifteen months and covering close upon six thousand miles, remains convinced that pessimism has been overdone, and that the sickness from which agriculture is suffering is neither deadly nor incurable.

S. L. BENSUSAN.

Art. 9.—BRITISH TRADE IN SOUTH AMERICA.

1. *South America*. By W. H. Koebel. 2nd Ed. Fisher Unwin, 1923.
2. *Le Péron économique*. By Paul Walle. Paris : E. Guilmoto, 1908.
3. *The Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*. New York : Published monthly.
4. *South America and the War*. By F. A. Kirkpatrick. Cambridge University Press, 1918.

BEFORE the War our South American trade was a source of pride to us. About the year 1908 our imports into Argentina were equal to those of Germany, the United States, and Belgium combined; and the same was the case in Chile. In Brazil the position was almost as favourable. Peru was near the United States, more under their influence, and her mines were largely exploited by American capital; but even there the exports from Great Britain usually stood at a higher figure than those from the United States. The activities of Germany were incessant; and in South America, as everywhere else, she was rapidly increasing her share of trade; but the commercial ascendancy of Great Britain appeared impregnable, fortified as it was by abundant capital, which, with other countries at least, is a potent attraction to fresh trade.

Since the War, however, the position has been reversed; the United States come first in the import trade; and, though we are a better second than our rival was in the pre-War days, the change is decisive, and the want of expansion in this most promising field accounts for a part of our chronic unemployment. To diagnose this discouraging state of affairs, it will be necessary, first, to give a brief historical sketch of our trade in South America, showing what circumstances and aptitudes on our part led to our success, and what causes have contributed to our decline; thus leading to a consideration of the means which, it may be hoped, will effect a recovery.

From the discovery of the New World onwards the other nations had envied Spain the boundless wealth

which she obtained from Mexico and Peru, and, of course, in conformity with the commercial maxims of those days, the trade there was strictly a Spanish monopoly. By the time of the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, Great Britain was strong enough to make an inroad into that close and jealously guarded preserve, and the famous Asiento gave her traders the right of supplying negro slaves to the Spanish Colonies and also of sending yearly a ship of 500 tons burden to trade with Spanish America. It may be added that the complacency with which our historians, poets, and other literary artists wrote about the 'devildoms' of Spain and, inferentially, our superior humanity and enlightenment, does not survive the test of historical investigation; but this is a large question which cannot be discussed here.

Our subject is trade, and we have to note that 1713 is a landmark; for many illicit traders followed in the wake of the legitimate vessel, and the Spanish monopoly was gradually sapped. Spain resisted stoutly this opposition, and the war of Jenkins's Ear is tolerably familiar to us, by name at least; but the strong man was no longer strong enough to guard his goods, and a stronger than he entered in and spoiled his house. The process lasted a full century; and by about 1825, Spain had lost nine-tenths of her Colonial possessions, not to her rivals but from internal decay—the Colonies had become independent. This was beneficial to Great Britain. That wise statesman, Castlereagh, pursued a judicious course, encouraging the struggling Colonies and at the same time preserving a friendly attitude towards monarchical Spain. His remonstrances with the Spanish King, his timely recognition of the new Republics, and the valuable unofficial aid given by private adventurers and Peninsular veterans, engendered a friendly feeling for England in South America which has remained unimpaired to this day. Thus Latin America was prepared to trade on favourable terms with us.

Having been disappointed in the European market—the Continent being impoverished by the interminable Napoleonic Wars—our merchants were anxiously looking for new fields to exploit, and began to push South American trade. Accordingly, there was great activity;

but for a long time the results were not as had been anticipated, chiefly owing to the unfortunate turbulence of nearly all the new Republics, which disturbed trade. Sir Francis Head, who travelled across the Pampas about the time of the establishment of Independence, stated that it would not be prudent to embark a large capital in the country. He remarked that :

‘Taking into consideration the peculiar political situation of the country, I must own it appears to me that during the troubles and vicissitudes which must unavoidably attend the progress of these provinces towards civilisation, it would be imprudent for a stranger to enter into any permanent establishment. . . . He may have treated with a government which has ceased to exist, or with an individual whom fortune or whose influence may have suddenly disappeared.’

When the ferocious civil wars subsided, Argentina fell under the domination of the tyrant Rosas, who desired to prohibit all foreign commerce. After his fall, in 1852, trade improved; but it was checked by the war with Paraguay (1864-70). With peace there came gradual development; railways were now in being, and improved methods of preserving meat were introduced. Great Britain took the leading part in the development of the country into one of the greatest corn-growing and grazing lands in the world. The following table shows the substantial increase of the Argentine import trade. It will be noticed that trade suffered a serious set-back in the last years of the 19th century. This was the result of the historic financial collapse of 1891, caused by frantic speculation; it was one of the greatest disasters in the history of the Republic.

	Total Imports.	Imports from Great Britain.
	£	£
1874	11,200,000	4,400,000
1882	12,250,000	5,250,000
1890	28,400,000	8,400,000
1898	21,500,000	5,586,276
1902	20,600,000	5,871,096
1908	54,594,547	18,674,279
1912	84,270,508	23,783,890
1926	164,499,299	28,649,710

Whereas in 1884 there were only 2290 miles of railway, in 1899 the mileage had risen to 10,285. These fine broad-gauge railways enabled the wheat and pastoral products of the Pampas to be brought to the ports. Some two hundred million sterling of British capital is invested in Argentina, and of this more than three-quarters is in railways. The breed of cattle and sheep was rapidly improved, and thus great industries of meat, wheat, and wool grew up. No breeders in the world are more resolute than those of Argentina to secure the finest blood stock, and nearly all the best strains are English and Scottish. The Durham, the Hereford, and the Aberdeen-Angus in cattle; the Lincoln and the Romney Marsh in sheep, and many other fine breeds have all been imported with splendid success. Not till 1875 was the first flour exported from Argentina. In 1908—a very good year—the shipments of wheat amounted to 3,500,000 tons. It is now the second wheat-exporting country; shipping more than half the quantity of Canada, nearly twice as much as the United States, and more than three times as much as Australia.

It was about the year 1908 that British trade reached its zenith. Perhaps the main factor of our success was the practice of sending out able and energetic men to do business in the country. In railways, in engineering, in machinery, in banking, and in mercantile pursuits, Englishmen, mostly young, entered Argentina, pushed their own fortunes, and built up a great international commerce. The circumstances were favourable, as Great Britain and many other countries were in need of Argentina's products. Since the last quarter of the 19th century the standard of living has risen in almost every part of the world, and thus there has been a strong demand for the meat and wheat of Argentina. At the same time the means of transport developed by leaps and bounds, and it was easy to put the goods on the market. Further, by the opening of the 20th century, the United States began to consume more and more of their own food-stuffs, and thereby the demand for Argentine produce was stimulated.

Of the other South American countries, Chile and Brazil are the most important in international trade. Chile, victorious in the war with Peru, obtained

possession of the whole of the nitrate regions, and this monopoly was most valuable, owing to the demand for this commodity as a fertiliser. The late Colonel North was one of the founders of the industry, which at once fell into English hands. Some twenty millions sterling of British capital are invested in the nitrate fields of Chile. This country, like Argentina, being fortunate enough to steer clear of incessant internal feuds, so ruinous to the prosperity of many South American Republics, rapidly became prosperous, and Great Britain had a notable share in the trade. In some respects the conditions in Brazil were less favourable. That country provides four-fifths of the world's supply of coffee; and our consumption of that article is a minute fraction of that drunk by France, Germany, and most other countries. But before the War we had the leading share in the import trade on account of the excellence of our manufactures.

In the other Republics we had, for the most part, the leading place. Peru was a tolerably wealthy country before the war with Chile, but was almost ruined by its disasters. To ease the financial situation the Peruvian Corporation, mainly a British concern, was formed, which still administers a considerable part of the national resources. The influence of the United States, which own large mining interests in Peru, has always been strong in that country, and in the last few years before the War their share in the trade was about as large as ours. Uruguay is a country where conditions are similar to those of Argentina; and where our position was stronger than anywhere else. Before the War our exports to that Republic averaged two or three times as much as those of the United States.

We thus see that in 1914 Great Britain had the leading place in the import trade of practically every South American Republic. The position was not quite so outstanding as it had been half a dozen years before; but it was Germany rather than the United States which was regarded as the more formidable rival. In Argentina, for example, Germany was considerably ahead of the Northern Republic. In the import trade the United States were handicapped by their defective banking system, while they had comparatively little

capital invested in South America; and, further, Yankee traders were not popular in the Southern Continent. It was Germany with her method and adaptability that was threatening our supremacy, and there were many complaints about lack of enterprise on the part of our merchants and manufacturers. The late Mr Koebel quotes from a Consular Report on Uruguay of 1910—and the tale was repeated year by year at all the Consulates:

‘It has been pointed out to me that careful investigation into the commercial methods of our competitors reveals several reasons why British trade has failed to retain the proportion of the imports it held a few years ago. For instance, greater attention to detail is paid by the foreign merchant than by his British rival, who, as a rule, adheres in catalogues and invoices to British standard weights and measures and prices, without giving their equivalent in terms of the country. In tenders for public works German firms study the specifications with minute care, and tender for every item, leaving nothing in doubt, besides drawing up their applications in so clear and simple a manner as to give the minimum labour in examination, and the maximum of facility in comparison to the authorities who deal with them; whereas British tenderers sometimes merely quote a lump sum, ignoring all details, and after, when details are given, the price of many items is left vague. . . .

‘Then, again, as regards languages, the British commercial traveller, armed with British catalogues and price-lists (although I note with pleasure that some are now printed in Spanish), knows no language but his own, but the German invariably speaks Spanish and English, and he has carefully studied beforehand the needs of the market which he is visiting and the financial position of merchants. This gives him a great advantage over his British rival, who rarely has previous knowledge of his would-be customers, and is dependent on such chance information as he may pick up to be subsequently confirmed by inquiries at the banks.’

It was evident that British business men were inclined to look upon their trade as part of the course of nature which would run on without new exertions and new devices on their part. An intelligent trade strategy was being pursued by their rivals; and two essential points of advantage—the saving of trouble to customers and, above all, familiarity with the Spanish language—were

320 BRITISH TRADE IN SOUTH AMERICA

being accepted by competitors and neglected by them; the result being an undermining of British supremacy. As will be seen, these lessons and others, even now, have been but imperfectly learned; yet they must be appreciated and acted upon before we can recover our position.

The Great War came, and when it was over there was change. Germany has temporarily dropped out of the race; the United States have stepped into our position. That country did not enter the War till the latter part of the third year, and previously had been amassing enormous wealth by supplying the belligerents with munitions. What was more important in connexion with our subject, the United States became a creditor country, and at the end of the War nearly all the combatants were deeply in her debt. Before 1914 her invested capital in Latin America was comparatively small; but in ten years she increased it by eight hundred millions sterling, and, of course, during the War had enjoyed practically a free hand in consolidating her trade policy among the Republics.

The following table of statistics, detailing the value of the goods sent to the four chief Republics by Great Britain and the United States respectively, show the catastrophic alteration that has resulted:

	£
In 1912 Great Britain sent to Argentine .	23,783,845
„ the United States „ „ .	11,823,390
In 1926 Great Britain „ „ .	23,649,710
„ the United States „ „ .	28,145,000
In 1912 Great Britain „ Brazil .	12,657,830
„ the United States „ „ .	9,899,000
In 1925 Great Britain „ „ .	18,770,205
„ the United States „ „ .	20,771,604
In 1912 Great Britain „ Chile .	6,159,159
„ the United States „ „ .	3,520,000
In 1926 Great Britain „ „ .	5,944,886
„ the United States „ „ .	9,280,000
In 1912 Great Britain „ Peru .	2,517,308
„ the United States „ „ .	2,032,577
In 1925 Great Britain „ „ .	3,446,418
„ the United States „ „ .	7,068,593

The figures are equally emphatic in the cases of the smaller Republics. In 1904 we exported to Venezuela

about 12 per cent. more than did the United States. Now the value of goods sent thither by the States is quite three times as great as that which we contribute. Similarly, we were well ahead of them in the Colombian market, but now our rival nearly doubles us. Perhaps, however, it is in Uruguay that the change is most marked. In 1911 we sent to that country nearly three millions sterling to the United States' one. Now we send somewhat less than in 1911, while the United States export four millions sterling.

The War, combined with the circumstances arising from it, is the chief cause of this change; but there are other causes, of which we have less reason to be proud. One obvious fact is that our post-War recovery was seriously hampered by a number of disastrous strikes. In all the South American countries our exports showed a falling off in 1926 as compared with 1925, and the cause was, it is needless to say, the preposterous strikes of that year. In Argentina our exports dropped by three millions, of which coal accounted for two. Our workers have little reason to thank the blind guides who led them into the ditch, for it is they who suffer most from declining imports, and the loss of the coal markets cannot always be recovered; the tendency to use oil and other substitutes has been sharply stimulated.

The Government of Great Britain might give more help to trade than it does. It is true that unless traders are active and intelligent, Government aid will not avail them much, while harm as well as good may be done by interference. But the United States does not believe in leaving their trade to blind chance. They have the Pan-American Union which was founded to bring their country into closer relations with Latin America, and above all, to develop trade. It has branches in every Republic, and publishes the valuable 'Bulletin of Pan-American Union' in English, Spanish, and Portuguese, which is a mine of information to those interested. Taking it up at random, we note, for example, an article on 'Immigration and Colonisation Problems in Ecuador.' This may not be in itself a very important question, but it is part of a much greater subject—immigration into Latin America, and deserves appropriate consideration. It would be astonishing to find anything printed in

England about Ecuadorian immigration, and yet Great Britain has had a century of profitable intercourse with South America and till lately had far more trade with Ecuador than had the United States. Yet, with the exception of the 'Times,' our press practically ignores Latin America.

As regards Ecuador, the United States have performed a signal service to that country. Until the last decade Guayaquil, the principal port and largest town, was infested with yellow fever to an extent which paralysed its commerce by deterring vessels from calling. Lord Bryce (who was not allowed to land) remarked that 'Guayaquil enjoys the reputation of being the pest-house of the continent.' When I was proceeding from Callao to Panama in 1909, my boat stood off Guayaquil to deliver mails, but no intercourse was permitted between those on board and the inhabitants, and fumigators were in operation the whole time of the visit. Off the island of Puna, near the town, we saw a German barque lying derelict, waiting for a crew, the captain and most of the hands having died of the scourge. Our vessel neither took nor discharged any cargo, trade being stagnant; and yet Ecuador is a land teeming with natural wealth. In 1918, Mrs Goding, wife of the United States Consul at Guayaquil, died of yellow fever. Seeing that the disease had been eradicated at Panama and Santos, which not long ago were greatly infested by it, it did not appear unreasonable to anticipate like results in Guayaquil. Dr. Conner and some Japanese medical officers at once went thither, in the service of the Rockefeller Institute, and began the well-known process of destroying the *stegomyia mosquito*. A further successful experiment was made in introducing into the water-tanks fish which devoured the larvæ, and in a few years Guayaquil was free from yellow fever.*

Even the ordinary duties of Government are not well performed. The Overseas Trade Department—which ought to have been abolished and was not—now has charge of our foreign trade, which once was better managed by the Foreign Office. Little is done to bring before the public the valuable information contained in the Consular Reports. Our Consuls are able and

* See 'Casual Wanderings in Ecuador,' by Blair Niles, pp. 60-69.

efficient public servants; but the service requires improvement—more and better-paid Consulships, while the Consular Offices should be imposing. The people of Spanish America go very much by appearances, and just as they like their goods to have a showy appearance, valuing that, on the whole, more than durability; so they are impressed by those nations who do their business in handsome buildings, established in the best streets.

Undoubtedly Government might do much; but, in fact, it does little. What official aid might effect is, however, insignificant compared with what private individuals and institutions can and should do. 'The Quarterly Review' of October 1910, remarked: 'Everywhere in South America the Englishman is trusted and welcomed, and if, in the future, he finds himself ousted from the predominant position he has hitherto held in South American trade, it will be through his own fault.' It was not Government but private adventurers who built up our great commercial position; and if our glories fade and our wealth decays, it will be the men of Great Britain, not the officials, who are responsible.

There is the vital question of language. One would suppose that the numerous Chairs in our Universities give instruction every year to a number of students, and that there ought to be in our midst men and women who know Spanish. But apparently they do not go to South America, for complaints as to our lack of knowledge of the language continue incessantly. Even British residents in South America, admirably as they have managed the business side of their task, have not established as close relations with the people of the country as might have been expected; while, of course, at home this lack of sympathetic insight is infinitely more pronounced. Prof. F. A. Fitzpatrick said in 1918:

'A certain amount of aloofness still envelopes the British in Latin America, and this attitude is reflected in England. The languages and the history of those lands have not received their due in our schools and colleges. It has been comparatively rare in this country to find a keen and well-informed interest in matters wherein our own people have a far greater share than our neighbours on the European continent or in the United States. What is wanting is a

breath of enthusiasm for a most picturesque past, a present situation of absorbing interest, and the prospect of a future which promises boundless possibilities.'

He adds that there is some improvement—'our schools are providing Spanish classes: our universities are founding professorships or lectureships in the Spanish and Portuguese languages, and the study of Latin-American history is finding admission to its due academic place.' It would not, however, be possible to say that any admission was found for the study of Spanish-American literature in England. That is almost completely ignored. I have frequently called attention to this unaccountable circumstance, and, so far as I have been able to discover, only two attempts have been made in our language to popularise the subject. These are 'Latin America,' by F. Garcia Calderon, translated by Bernard Miall, and 'The Glory of Don Ramiro,' by Enrique Larreta, translated by L. B. Walter; both are meritorious. Here, again, the United States offers the strongest contrast; their Professors not only translate but also edit the best Spanish-American works, and have written valuable histories of the literature. They have also societies and periodicals for promoting these studies; in fact, if any of our countrymen desire to pursue them in the English tongue, they are dependent upon American Professors. The Portuguese language is of less importance, being spoken in Brazil only; but it also deserves study, if only for the pleasure of reading Camoens. Any one who has a knowledge of Latin can soon acquire enough Spanish and Portuguese to read the masterpieces in which both languages abound. The time for haphazard methods has gone, and even for the purposes of trade, it is necessary to know not only the language but the mind of the people.

We have, then, to deplore the neglect of the wider strategy in trade—the intercourse of the mind, the sympathy of ideals, and the reciprocal knowledge of the best thought in the associating countries. Herein we have fallen short of France and the United States; and it is time that we removed this handicap. In what might be called the tactics of trade there are several lessons which have not been perfectly learned. For foreign markets manufacturers should learn that cheap-

ness is one of the main attractions. A Consular Report of Bolivia remarks: 'If the price is dearer, the argument of better quality does not appeal to countries west of the Andes.' British manufacturers have a long-standing reputation for the high quality and durability of their goods; but, in dealing with a market like the South American, they must get rid of the old-fashioned idea that customers want articles which will last a great length of time. The people, who mostly have a small command of money, are attracted by merchandise that is cheap and showy; they do not want to keep the same article long, preferring to replace it by another cheap one, and enjoying variety and change. Such a point as this any intelligent commercial traveller ought to be able to discover and report.

Rapidity of execution and punctuality are, of course, important. We hear from Peru that one circumstance against which our merchants have to contend is the 'rapidity with which the United States respond to applications for quotations, and also the promptness with which orders are filled. The difficulty experienced in this market according to complaints submitted is to get British manufacturers to take any interest in this market at all.' It is obvious that our labour troubles are inimical to punctuality in this respect. The Peruvian market ought not to be a difficult one for the foreigner to make headway in, as a Lima newspaper declares that it is impossible to sell a hat of native manufacture, unless it bears a foreign brand, and the same applies generally to cotton goods, soap, candles, spirits, and ginger-beer. It is, therefore, important to register proprietary trade-marks.

The same Report also calls attention to the 'ingenuity and originality of design' of the United States. There is a tendency on the part of our manufacturers to cling to old designs and a reluctance to adapt themselves to the special tastes and requirements of customers. Consular Reports also point out that in cotton and woollen goods, where Great Britain has long been the principal importer, many of the Republics have established factories, and, of course, heavily protect the output. It is, therefore, necessary that new markets should be sought, and hardware of various descriptions

is instanced—a field of enterprise in which we have hitherto allowed foreign competitors to have almost a free hand.

Our manufacturers seem, however, most unwilling to push into lines which are in the possession of other nations. The Consul in São Paulo remarks:

‘British-made cars are seldom seen in São Paulo, since the manufacturers up to the present have not made any serious effort to enter the market by establishing an agency and keeping a full range of spares. There is undoubtedly a market for a moderate-priced standard type of car if the owner is certain that any necessary repairs will be promptly attended to.’

Again, we hear from Bogota:

‘Something might be done by the introduction of a fairly heavy and substantial car of British make, roughly at a price of some 600*l.*, but this would require considerable energy in bringing it to the notice of purchasers, the market having been allowed to remain in the hands of the United States manufacturers.’

But our makers will only manufacture cars that are suited to English needs; they miss the Indian and other overseas markets by offering cars that will not stand the rough roads that are usually encountered abroad. It may be added that in 1926 Great Britain sent 289 cars to Argentina, while the United States sent 47,838. Our Consuls also issue the warning that importers should carefully study the elaborate Customs regulations of the various Republics, and thus avoid fines and delay. They should also make sure that the firms they deal with are trustworthy—a condition easily effected by means of the excellent British banks, which have branches in all the large towns. The Consul in Paraguay remarks that this can be done at the ‘cost of a cable.’

As regards the more general side of the question, the spreading of British culture, we hear from Bogota that ‘British standard works are difficult to procure’; while, of course, French books are on sale everywhere. He adds that ‘it is difficult to suggest a method whereby the demand for works exemplifying British culture and ideals can be stimulated.’ Here is work for the English Universities. It should be added that Bogota is, though

small, one of the chief seats of Spanish-American culture, and it is regrettable that the inhabitants should have no access to English literature.

By such indirect means of bringing the Republics into touch with our country, the opportunities for extending trade will be multiplied. Up to the present we have been content to concentrate almost entirely upon a few staples. The latest figures show that in Argentina cottons of various kinds make up a quarter of our imports, and iron and steel account for one-sixth. One quarter of the goods which Chile imports from us consists of textiles; and cotton goods form nearly a quarter of our imports into Brazil. It is, therefore, very necessary, as our Consuls warn us, that we should pay attention to other lines, even though they are smaller and demand more trouble. 'The South American Journal,' which is sceptical about the value of studying markets and the Spanish language, points out that the safest and most lucrative trade with Argentina is the selling of stores to British firms—especially railways—in that country. Almost every possible article is required from time to time, and bad debts are out of the question.

Thus new lines in old markets should be developed, and there is a great field for enterprising firms. We have, of course, also the Indian and other Dominion markets to consider; but the constant complaint now is that goods are turned out and find no customers; that factories must be closed because there is no market for their goods, and thus unemployment will be intensified. This has always been a nightmare with our Cassandras. In the 'eighties J. Cotter Morison wrote:

'The difficulty of taking new views of old things and conditions, can alone blind men from seeing the fate before them. The numbers of the unemployed in all large centres are growing from year to year. The palliatives of charity, public works, state, and in every form, are still talked of as if there were hope in them. But before the century is at an end, the illusion will have vanished. The production of wealth, as it has obtained in the past, can continue no longer. The State will be impoverished along with individuals; and with increasing charges will have less revenues to meet them. Then we shall know what a general or universal commercial catastrophe really means, when the famishing

unemployed will not be counted by thousands, but millions, when a page of the "Times" will suffice for the business advertisements of London; and when the richest will be glad to live on the little capital they have left, never thinking of interest.'

More than forty years have passed since then, and the ship of industry has hitherto contrived to slip past the rocks of Cassandra. But not long ago we were warned by good judges that our yearly surplus for investment was dwindling and that the time might be approaching when we should be living on our capital. To avert this, the increase of our export trade is essential. It is not to be expected that we can for ever fill the rôle of universal provider of manufactured goods to all and sundry, receiving in return their raw materials; as a matter of fact, every Republic has a system of *fomento* or fostering, by which it attempts to encourage every possible manufacture, and restrain, so far as may be, the import of finished goods. When I was in Buenos Aires many years ago, the Consul remarked to me: 'When any one starts in business he immediately clamours to have the duty raised on the goods in which he deals, and very often he is successful.' But at present the local manufacturers find the cost of production too high to enable them to produce many articles of a quality and price that can compete with European or North American goods, even though the tariff be exceedingly high. And for many years to come they will be handicapped by lack of domestic coal and fuel of all kinds. So there still is a field there for our manufacturers which will not soon be exhausted.

There is, indeed, plenty of opportunity in South America. Every year there is a large increase in the numbers of the world's population who insist on having substantial meals daily. Eighty years ago the poor were recommended to put curry-powder in water to make soup or to boil nettles; and yet people wondered that there was a sluggish demand for the goods turned out by our factories. Now of these new millions many—as in South America—can only obtain food and other commodities (for with improved food they demand better clothing and other comforts) by providing pastoral and agricultural raw material, which is bartered for manu-

factures. Thus there is a demand for goods which we shall supply, if we can do so on better terms than our competitors.

Nothing forbids us to hold the view that the future will see increases of wealth and trade greater than anything the past can show. No one would have believed a quarter of a century ago that American manufacturers, in 1928, would be supplying motor-cars to the lower middle and working-classes in that country, or films which the children of our mean streets see several times a week. We have been content to leave these huge industries to the United States—so far, at least, as the overseas markets are concerned. But there are sure to be many more great fields where a demand for new articles for use or amusement will arise. There is no reason why our manufacturers should not develop new industries or compete effectually in those which hitherto they have neglected.

We have enjoyed a long-standing friendship and profitable intercourse with South America, and ought now to confirm and strengthen our old associations. Industrially, it is more important to us than ever, and, as always, it is politically valuable also. Other nations keenly appreciate the opportunities offered, and if we do not use our advantages, then will our rivals seize them, and profit by them exceedingly.

W. A. HIRST.

Art. 10.—MUSICAL LABELS.

No art is more a victim of labels than music. Literature can be discussed in its own medium. Painting and sculpture are, in a large measure, direct representations of the external world and can therefore be described fairly easily in words. But music, except in very rare instances (as when it is reproducing the notes of birds), is not imitative at all, but at most merely appropriate to things outside itself. Hence the application to it of labels such as 'classical,' 'romantic,' 'poetic,' 'comic,' 'absolute,' 'programme,' must be received with caution. There is, of course, no harm in employing any of these terms so long as we are quite sure what we mean by them. But in practice they are responsible for a great deal of confused thinking about music. The attempt to put them in their places is no mere academic pursuit. For the misuse of them actually interferes with the appreciation of the masterpieces of music. The thoughtless and sweeping application of the word 'classical' to the art of Bach or of Mozart, for example, and the indiscriminating use of 'extravagant' to describe the music of Berlioz or of 'melancholy' to sum up the work of Tchaikovsky, have simply resulted in the creations of those masters being misunderstood or heard with prejudiced minds by some people who otherwise might have enjoyed them to the full. A person who expresses a preference for the romantic style of music is liable to turn a deaf ear to Bach and Mozart because they have so often been dubbed 'classical,' or even to refuse to give the poor fellows a chance at all! If only he knew how much depth of emotion is really to be found in Bach, or what a strong vein of romanticism was present in Mozart, he would have a different tale to tell. The anti-sentimentalist is apt to sneer at Tchaikovsky, forgetting or ignoring that that 'melancholy' man was a master of light, airy, and humorous music: the 'Casse-Noisette' suite, 'The Sleeping Princess' ballet, and the scherzo of the Fourth Symphony, are perhaps overshadowed by the gloom of the 'Symphonie Pathétique' and 'Francesca da Rimini' or the intense emotionalism of the Fifth Symphony. The notion of Berlioz's 'ex-

travagance'—based mainly on certain portions of the 'Symphonie Fantastique' and 'Harold in Italy' and the 'Ride to the Abyss' from 'La Damnation de Faust'—has a tendency to blind people to the fact that such works as 'Les Troyens' and the 'Te Deum' and many episodes of the 'Faust' and of the 'Grande Messe des Morts' contain not a trace of over-emphasis or wild musical profligacy. Berlioz could even at times be as delicate as Mozart or Debussy: witness, for instance, the pastoral slow movement of the 'Symphonie Fantastique' (of all works!) and the 'Danse des Sylphes' from 'Faust.'

The word 'poetic' as applied to music is purely metaphorical. Strictly speaking, music can no more be poetic (or poetry be musical) than *crème de menthe* can have a green taste. If, when speaking or writing fancifully, we choose to transfer adjectives from one art or one sphere to another, well and good—so long as we are clear what we are doing. But I am afraid that a good many people who use the term 'poetic' to describe a piece of music have the very haziest idea of any meaning at all. Usually, I suppose, it is intended to be much the same as 'romantic'—a word about which I shall have more to say later.

What is a 'comic opera'? That is one of the main problems raised by Mozart's 'Don Giovanni.' The attachment of labels such as 'comic,' 'tragic,' or 'serious,' to an artistic creation is often a very rough generalisation which must not be pressed too closely, and Mozart is the very last musician whose compositions admit of easy definitions. On the contrary, his art presents a number of most complex problems. He himself gave the title 'dramma giocoso' to 'Don Giovanni,' but it has been suggested that the term 'comic opera' is inappropriate to it. Why, it is asked, should the humorous parts of the opera justify us in calling the whole work 'comic,' any more than the other portions make it a serious or tragic opera?

The truth is that a comic opera does not necessarily consist of nothing but wit and humour from beginning to end. Even modern musical comedies include serious love-songs and dramatic—or melodramatic—situations, with music to match. 'The Mikado' does not cease to be a comic opera because it contains the madrigal

'Brightly dawns our wedding day' and Yum-Yum's air 'The sun whose rays,' any more than the plays of Aristophanes forfeit the right to be called comedies because they include some charming lyrics which are not meant to provoke amusement. How far we are intended to take the catastrophe of Don Giovanni seriously will probably always remain a debatable point; but one thing is quite certain, that if Mozart did find himself drifting away from the 'opera buffa' style to that of serious, or even tragic, opera when he came to depict the downfall of his chief personage, he clearly wished to restore the spirit of comedy by means of the final scene in which Leporello gives a grimly humorous account of the catastrophe and he and the others join in a light-hearted sextet bidding the audience take warning from the Don's fate. Mozart possibly went further into the domain of tragedy in the music just preceding and accompanying Don Giovanni's death than he had originally meant to go, or even than he was conscious of going, but as he showed by the subsequent scene that he did not want to end on a tragic note, a false impression is left on the audience if the curtain is rung down (as it often is) on the death of the principal character. The opera is, of course, nearer to being a tragedy than, for instance, 'The Sorcerer,' at the end of which the wizard is seen carefully adjusting his gloves and necktie before he disappears amid a puff of smoke down the trap-door to the infernal regions—(so that he may appear neat and smart in the presence of the Master?). No one imagines that either Gilbert or Sullivan meant us to take the fate of their 'hero' seriously. But the term 'comic opera' is a sufficiently comprehensive one to include within its ambit even a tragic-comedy like 'Don Giovanni,' just as the character and downfall of Shylock, who is very nearly, if not quite, a tragic figure, do not preclude us from regarding 'The Merchant of Venice' as on the whole a comedy—a less light-hearted affair indeed than 'Twelfth Night,' and even further removed from the almost continuous fun of 'The Merry Wives of Windsor,' but still a comedy. We are right, too, to call 'Die Meistersinger' a comic opera; but the person who found in it nothing but humour and satire directed against Wagner's

opponents, would be far indeed from a full appreciation of the work.

The term 'classical' has three meanings, so far as music is concerned. In the first place, it denotes, roughly, 'high-class'—the sense in which the phrase 'classical music' is used by most schoolboys and especially by those who profess to be bored by it. This use has been to a large extent displaced in recent years by the word 'high-brow'—an expression which is, however, not properly applicable to music itself or any other art, but only to persons or to their attitude towards the art: it is a term of reproach, and, if justified, implies that they evince a consciousness of intellectual superiority: to call a man high-brow simply because he enjoys something which we do not, is just a case of sour grapes—unless we are pulling his leg. The distinction between 'classical,' or 'high-brow,' music and popular music is, of course, fallacious. Countless numbers of masterpieces do in fact appeal to so-called 'unmusical' people, so long as the latter are quite open-minded, and they often agree that a lot of music which they would not dream of calling 'classical' or 'high-brow,' and which would therefore have to be pushed into the domain of 'popular' music, is extremely uninteresting: many ballads and foxtrots and waltz tunes are in this category.

This first meaning of 'classical' takes no account of the period in which a work was written. But the word is also used as opposed to modern music. This is a fairly simple and acceptable distinction. Compositions which have withstood the test of time are said to be 'classics' in that they have become established and generally regarded as masterpieces. Even here, however, there is a snag, for a good many modern works seem to be classics already! Might this not be said, for instance, of the symphonic poems of Richard Strauss, of the best works of Debussy, and—some would add—Elgar? The extent to which music is published nowadays, compared with a hundred or two hundred or more years ago, probably has something to do with this, as it enables fresh compositions to become known more rapidly and more widely than was the case in the past. Critics are able to procure and study the score, and a

decision can be more quickly reached on the question whether a piece is of permanent value or not. We could hardly call Stravinsky's works since 'Le Sacre du Printemps' 'classics' in the sense of being established masterpieces, but 'Petrouchka' and 'The Firebird' almost deserve the description already.

These two senses of the word 'classical' of course overlap to some extent. If a work has withstood the test of time and so become a classic as distinct from more modern compositions, it can reasonably be said to have permanent value, and thus to have earned a place among that 'high-class' music which though it is falsely contrasted with popular art could more appropriately be opposed to music of poor quality and ephemeral interest. The passage of time is indeed the greatest criterion of the worth of an artistic creation. The older masterpieces which continue to appeal to successive generations are classical in both senses of the term. But recent compositions which have not yet had the chance of proving their durability but which are acclaimed by critics and lovers of the art are sometimes described by those who are not specially interested in music as 'classical' (according to my first use of the term) in order to distinguish them from, say, the latest dance successes. We could not call Vaughan-Williams 'Pastoral Symphony' classical if we were contrasting classical and modern music; but it would undoubtedly be given that title by a person who was not a musical enthusiast.

The most interesting antithesis, however, is between classical and romantic music. The New English Dictionary defines romantic music as that which is 'characterised by the subordination of form to theme, and by imagination and passion,' and quotes the following passage from J. C. Fillmore ('Pianoforte Music'):

'Classic is used in two senses. In the one it means, having permanent interest and value.* . . . In the second sense . . . music written in a particular style, aiming at the embodiment of a certain ideal, the chief element of which is beauty of form. . . . In classical music, in this sense, form is first

* This roughly covers both of the two meanings which I have described above.

and emotional content subordinate; in romantic music content is first and form subordinate.'

The distinction thus drawn sounds so simple that it is tempting, at first sight, to succumb to it. Its application, however, leads to many difficulties, and one of the chief of these is that it is customary to apply the term 'romanticism' not exclusively, but mainly, to a particular period of musical history—that which began with Weber and continued roughly till the end of the 19th century. On this footing, a man living about the year 1810 would hardly have known what romantic music is. Bach and Handel, Mozart and Beethoven, and sometimes Schubert as well, are said to be classicists: Weber and Schumann, Berlioz and Liszt and Chopin, Tchaikovsky and Wagner, are declared to be members of the 'romantic school.' Brahms is called now classical, now romantic. Franck is also rather a puzzle, and Mendelssohn is pronounced to be a mixture of the two styles. But it can hardly be said of the most characteristic works of Beethoven that 'form is first and emotional content subordinate.' Surely the very essence of his contribution to the history of the art is that he utilised the traditional forms for giving expression to more profound thoughts and feelings than any other composer of instrumental music had done before him. We cannot say whether form or emotional content comes first in the case of Beethoven. His architectural sense was prodigious; but he employed it in the portrayal of deep emotions. In his last period the ideas seem at times almost too full for the vessel which contains them. It will be replied, of course, that Beethoven admittedly stood at the parting of the ways—that he was on the borderline between the classical and romantic worlds. As a point of chronology, if we admit the existence of separate classical and romantic epochs, that may be true enough. But it is a little difficult to reconcile it with the actual quality of the music of Brahms in one period and of Mozart in another.

Brahms is said to be a classic (although his work belongs to the latter half of the last century), because he so often adopted the old forms of the sonata, the symphony, and the string quartet; and as far as pure structure went, he made no very great departure from

the line of tradition. His individuality is revealed rather in the shape of his melodies, in his harmonic and rhythmic subtleties, and in the rich, warm flavour of his orchestration. But unless structural mastery is to be deemed inconsistent with romanticism, Brahms was as romantic as Chopin. It is important to observe that Chopin was not a writer of programme music: he did not seek to describe events or scenes in the external world, nor did he—like other romantic composers such as Weber, Berlioz, and Wagner—portray the imaginary or legendary world of fairies, elves, witches, giants, dragons, gods, and heroes. Yet Chopin is universally agreed to be a romantic composer. He was purely a poet of emotions—delicate, tender, wistful feelings for which his sensitive instinct constructed a technique perfectly adapted to them; and he could be strong and brave too in his music, or lighthearted and gay. The same might be said of Brahms: surely a piece like the E flat Intermezzo (opus 117) for pianoforte is as romantic as any of Chopin's nocturnes: or the slow movement of the violin concerto: or hundreds of other instances that could be mentioned. Brahms was literally steeped in romantic sentiment: so far as that goes, the only distinction between him and Chopin is that he was mainly content to express himself through the medium of traditional musical structures, whereas Chopin to a considerable extent invented forms of his own.

The early part of the 19th century is usually said to mark the dawn of the romantic period in music, because it was then that composers like Schumann and Liszt, Berlioz and Chopin, were striking out new paths, and it has been felt that the adventures upon which they were embarking were in themselves symptomatic of a romantic spirit. There was something of the old ideals of chivalry and the Crusades—transferred to the artistic sphere—in the campaigns which Schumann, both by his music and his writings, waged against the Philistines: in the compositions of Liszt and Berlioz, at whose hands a suggestive kind of programme music diverging from the stricter, purely musical, forms of sonata and symphony was developed: in the unconventional fantasias to which Chopin gave the names of ballades and nocturnes: in the romantic and self-sacri-

ficing attitude of Liszt towards Wagner, that great egoist who did indeed 'bestride the narrow world like a Colossus.' So it was that Brahms, because he stood aloof from the general trend of the age, came to be regarded as a kind of belated classic—out of place, almost, in the current of 19th-century musical thought. 'Words, words, words!' A piece of music is not unromantic just because it is a sonata, and a symphonic poem is not necessarily a romance.

A firmly-knit structure, even of the most purely musical, non-literary, type, is by no means inconsistent with the actual quality of the music itself being intensely romantic, and César Franck's symphony is a conspicuous instance of this. On the contrary, it is often just those passages in which the composer's structural sense appears weak, that are also the most abstract and devoid of romantic feeling. Frequently in Mozart's pianoforte sonatas there are runs and scale passages and arpeggios which are precisely the places in which the music is the least emotional; but they are also felt in many cases to be mere padding, connecting the really vital parts of the movement together, but exhibiting a less complete mastery of form than Mozart shows in his greater works, Beethoven and Brahms in the finest compositions of their mature age, or Bach in the best of his preludes and fugues. Liszt is hailed as a member of the romantic school. But a considerable quantity of his music is somewhat superficial glitter—anything but romantic in feeling, and much more deserving of the title of sound patterns than a good many of the so-called 'classical' masterpieces of the 18th century! On the other hand, could anything be more romantic than the structurally correct return of the principal subject of the first movement in the 'Eroica' symphony, following after the mysterious passage where the horn softly sounds the notes of the tonic chord against that shimmering discord on the violins?

If ever there was a romantic composer, surely it was Wagner. But his music-dramas, so far from making form of minor account, exhibit a greater power of structure than any operas that preceded them. The old idea had been to set the various situations of the libretto by isolated arias, choruses, and concerted

numbers, which usually had no musical bond with one another and were connected either by recitative or by spoken words. Wagner's use of the 'Leitmotiven' and 'unending melody' bound the fabric of the opera together into a unity which, viewed even from the purely musical standpoint, was structurally more closely-knit than that of his predecessors. Thus Wagner, the great romantic, out-classicised the classics! It is not necessary to confine ourselves, for the purposes of this argument, to isolated portions such as the Prelude of 'Die Meistersinger,' which is a masterpiece of proportion and contains one of the greatest triumphs of orchestral counterpoint in musical literature. Wagner's architectural form is exhibited over the whole extent of an opera in spite of the great length of his works. It is true that 'Der Ring' contains passages which a complete hearing of the cycle makes us feel to be superfluous, whether from the dramatic or from the musical point of view (in so far as those aspects are separable in Wagner's case). But that is due to the fact that he wrote the librettos of the four operas in inverse order. He originally intended 'Die Götterdämmerung' to be a self-contained opera: having written its libretto, he felt he must go further and therefore composed the words first of 'Siegfried,' then of 'Die Walküre,' and finally of 'Das Rheingold,' in order to get to the beginning of the story. The result was the inclusion of long narrations describing events which—when we are present at the whole of 'Der Ring'—we have already witnessed at some earlier stage of the performance. When Wagner came to compose the music, he did not cut out the superfluous passages of the libretto but set them as they stood, nor did he think fit to prune the tree afterwards. It was because of these special circumstances in which 'Der Ring' was created that it seems to contain a good deal of unnecessary matter. Yet in spite of this, Wagner's grasp of the vast design of the whole is felt throughout. And if we are impressed by this structural mastery in the case of 'Der Ring,' we must be struck by it even more when we listen to 'Tristan und Isolde.' The number of 'leading motives' in this music-drama is, even relatively, much smaller than in 'Der Ring'; the whole fabric of the music seems to arise out of the

prelude: from the first to the last note of the opera, in spite of its length, there is not really a superfluous bar; the themes are woven and intertwined and developed to the extent of those in a Beethoven symphony. No doubt Wagner had found here what was for him the perfect libretto; moreover, the autobiographical quality which the subject possessed for him at the time of its composition, in view of his own relations with Mathilde Wesendonck, may have resulted in its gripping him even more intensely than any other story to which he turned his attention throughout his life. But whatever the cause, there can be no doubt that 'Tristan' exhibits a closer unity than any other of his operas.

The quantity of music which consists of sound patterns, and nothing more, is relatively small. Many of the instrumental creations prior to the last century are no doubt of this description, but then it was only in the 17th and 18th centuries that instrumental art began to attain the importance—or predominance—which it has since acquired; vocal music is in very rare instances entirely 'absolute.' The naked sound matter of certain 20th-century composers is confined to a minority, and even they have a way of lapsing into emotionalism at times. But it would be giving too wide a significance to the word 'romantic' to ascribe it to all music which expresses feelings, as this includes most of the compositions which we possess. The term 'romantic' is inapposite, for instance, to music which is devotional in character, or to that of a light-hearted, cheerful nature, or even to a simple expression of sorrow. There is nothing romantic in the religious emotion of the first chorus in Bach's 'St Matthew Passion' or of Palestrina's 'Missa Papæ Marcelli'; or in the gaiety of the finale of Haydn's 'cello concerto in D'; or in 'Toll for the Brave.' But when we feel that music faithfully expresses the passion of love, or is dreamy in character, or tells a fairy tale, or sings of the deeds of a hero, we can appropriately call it romantic.

Now, while it is true that the desire to depict such subjects as these in music was stronger and more widespread after Beethoven had deepened the emotional character of instrumental art, and was facilitated* by

* In saying this, I am not overlooking the fact that the desire to

the development of instrumental colour which took place about the middle of the 19th century and has continued ever since, it is a mistake to suppose that romanticism did not exist at earlier periods of musical history. There are indeed good grounds for saying that this fundamental quality of human nature manifests itself—though doubtless in varying degrees—at almost every stage, and is not confined to one generation or to one century. The so-called romantic age of the 19th century produced a great deal of music that was not romantic in quality at all, and, on the other hand, the centuries which preceded it and which are commonly said to be classical, afford many instances of the romantic spirit.

We are so accustomed to regarding Weber and Wagner as the two great representatives of romanticism in operatic art, that we tend to forget the true character of the parts played by Monteverdi, Gluck, and Mozart. The 17th-century style in which Monteverdi wrote is apt to blind us to the fact that he was in his day a great innovator. In 'The Return of Ulysses,' for instance, he composed appropriately expressive music to a series of romantic situations, and his work, so far from seeming antique and out of fashion to our ears, strikes us as being as fresh as it was when he was a living force. Gluck is often called classical, simply because he belonged to the 18th century and wrote in the idiom of the period. Actually his art exhibits many of the qualities of a romantic composer. He found the opera in a condition which was the reverse of romantic and in which the trills and 'roulades' of star singers were the order of the day: the ideal of writing music really suited to the characters and emotions of the story and of eliminating all superfluous and meaningless ornaments, lay close to his heart. Although we must be careful not to assume that Gluck invariably carried out in practice that at which he aimed in theory—or rather that we who live in the 20th century can always discover in his music the dramatic or emotional qualities which he intended to convey or

express various romantic, literary, and poetic ideas was itself partially the cause of the development of instrumental colour: the two things of course acted and reacted upon one another.

which impressed his contemporaries—the principles upon which he worked bore a strong resemblance to those of his great successor, Wagner, and instances of genuine romantic feeling in his art are not hard to find. Orfeo's lament for his lost Euridice in the familiar air 'Che farò' is as romantic as anything in the 19th century. The delicate effects of the flute and the flowing phrases for strings which accompany Renaud's peaceful strain in Act 2, scene 3 of 'Armide,' just before he falls asleep on the banks of the stream, afford another example; while in the same opera the multifarious changes of mood in Armide's great aria when she is about to murder Renaud but is restrained by a sudden, strange impulse of pity, are only surpassed in romanticism by the exquisite music which she sings at the end of the third act when she calls upon 'Mighty Love' to be her comforter.

Haydn and Mozart are frequently taken as the typically 'classical' composers. It may be that their music is less personal, less autobiographical than that of Beethoven and especially of Wagner, and as self-consciousness is essentially a romantic trait their art might to that extent be said to be unromantic. But to regard the work of Haydn as being nothing but sound patterns is to take a very superficial view of it, and any one who looks upon Mozart merely in that light misses the whole point of his wonderful contribution to the world of music. We know more of the intimate details of Wagner's life (and of Beethoven's) than we do in the case of Haydn and Mozart, and it may well be that a more complete knowledge of all that they were doing and thinking month by month would lead us to find in their music a stronger reflection of their daily lives than we are apt to do. But even as things are, it is scarcely fantastic to descry, possibly, some private sorrow in the troubled accents which pervade the slow movement of Haydn's 'Farewell' symphony, and it is noteworthy that his 'Passion' and 'Funeral' symphonies were written in that same year (1772).

The music of Mozart was considered 'melancholy' by his contemporaries: if we to-day find its grief less afflicting, is this not partly due to sheer lapse of time and to the fact that he was writing in an idiom remote

from that of our generation? The romanticism of this 'classical' master is manifest over and over again. Traces of it are even present in his early opera, 'Lucio Silla,' and in many passages of the string quartets dedicated to Haydn. Susanna's air, 'Deh vieni non tardar,' and the duet of reconciliation between her and Figaro, are nothing if not romantic, and the same might be said of the song of the Countess, 'Dove sono.' The Fantasia in C minor for pianoforte is as romantic in quality as the ballades of Chopin. And although Mozart called 'Don Giovanni' a 'dramma giocoso' he was clearly caught up by the romantic character of the subject when he came to set the story of the Don's downfall. The libretto of 'Die Zauberflöte' is a curious mixture of absurdity with Freemasonry. But Mozart was a wizard whose music possessed more magical power than Tamino's flute. The hero's adventures and the ordeals which he faces with Pamina assume a romantic character which we could hardly have detected in Schikaneder's book if it had not been transformed 'into something rich and strange' by the spell of the composer's genius. Through the exquisite G minor symphony there runs an undercurrent of melancholy which may well have been personal in its origin; and much as we may admire the chiselled and finished workmanship of this marvellous craftsman, there is more beneath the surface, nor is it even the direct expression of simple emotions; for Mozart was one of the most subtle and baffling of composers, and in this symphony especially he seems, as it were, to mean more than he says.

Bach was perhaps the least romantically inclined of the great masters. This does not, of course, imply that he was unemotional; for Bach was as great a poet of varied moods and feelings as any composer that has ever lived. But the peculiar quality which we call romantic was not characteristic of him. It would be a misnomer to describe religious music as being romantic, and Bach's church cantatas, motets, and Passions, and the Mass in B minor, are as essentially sacred in character as any art in the world. Apart from the religious emotions which we find in these works, we meet with wistfully tender or pathetic slow movements, gaiety or

vigorous high spirits in his quick pieces, and great monuments of musical architecture in the toccatas and fugues for organ. It is rare indeed to find, as in the mysterious E flat minor prelude of the first book of the '48,' an expression of romanticism.

There was a little more of the romantic character in Handel than in Bach. If we can free ourselves from the hackneyed associations of the Largo, there is, I feel, a touch of romanticism in this great air from 'Xerxes,' addressed to the shadow of a plane tree; it appears, too, in many of the other airs in his operas, and in such a thing as 'Tell fair Irene my heart she is breaking' from 'Atlanta'; while the chorus at the end of the first part of 'Solomon' where the choir seems to lull the king and his queen to sleep amid the scent of flowers, the breath of zephyrs, and the song of the nightingales, is a beautiful example of 18th-century romantic art.

Another so-called 'classical' musician was Couperin. Yet he took romantic titles such as 'The Daybreak,' 'The Nightingale in love,' 'The Nightingale in despair,' 'The Lady with the waving plumes'—which seem to forecast Schumann or even Debussy—and wrote music appropriate to them. It has been suggested that the fact that he was satisfied with a single mood persisting through a piece, instead of contrasted ones, was a sign of 'classicality'; yet the same might in many instances be said of Chopin! Rameau, too, used descriptive titles for some of his harpsichord compositions.

So far from its being true that the predominance of form over emotional content is to be contrasted with the romantic spirit in music, the facts show that romanticism frequently co-exists, or is even bound up with, adherence to traditional structures, quite apart from those cases in which new forms have been invented to suit romantic requirements. Few works of Beethoven are more romantic than the Seventh Symphony, with its sudden changes from loud to soft, and its co-ordination of boisterous humour with dreamy melancholy: think of the tender, wistful echoes of the lively principal subject on the oboe, flute, and clarinet in the 'reprise' of the 'Vivace'; the soft chord that begins and ends the 'allegretto'; or the glamour of the majestic 'trio' in the third movement. Yet apart from the unusual length and

spaciousness of its introduction and the insertion of a larger number of 'repeats' than was customary in the scherzo, the symphony is strictly in accordance with 'classical' form. It does not even exhibit those divergences from traditional designs which Beethoven permitted himself in the works of his third period but which to us nowadays, in the light of all that has happened since then, seem comparatively unimportant.

Schubert is sometimes declared to be a classical composer, as opposed to a romanticist. It is a strange notion. For though he often employed the structures which he had inherited from the past, and though his very fluency sometimes resulted in a certain lack of emotional depth, Schubert was essentially a lyrical, rather than a formal, artist. It is true that in his songs he was apt at times to be so carried away by his wonderful gift of melody that the more subtle, intimate requirements of the poetry were sacrificed; and that it was left for Hugo Wolf to achieve the perfect union between the two arts. Nevertheless, Schubert was essentially romantic in spirit. 'Der Erlkönig,' the cycle 'Die Winterreise,' 'Ständchen,' and 'Der Tod und das Mädchen,' are familiar and conspicuous examples; while so far as instrumental compositions are concerned, the Unfinished Symphony is surely one of the most romantic works of its 'genre' in the whole of musical literature.

Music which disregards previous 'classical' forms and follows external, literary, or pictorial associations, is not on that account necessarily romantic. The music of Honegger's 'Pacific 231' is ingeniously appropriate to the image of an express train, and there is certainly nothing formal about it: W. H. Reed's 'Lincoln Imp' is a clever piece of programme music which ignores structural laws and simply follows the lines of the story. Yet neither of these works exhibits the quality of romanticism. Richard Strauss is one of the most romantically-minded composers since Wagner; but it is significant that 'Till Eulenspiegel,' which is as minutely descriptive as any musical work could be, is the least romantic of his symphonic poems. Yet to call it 'classical' would be absurd.

The more we reflect upon the actual quality of the music which we feel to be romantic, the clearer it

becomes that the question whether a composition is romantic or not, is quite distinct from the question whether its structure is a strong or a weak feature. Form may be just as striking a characteristic of a romantic work as of an unromantic one; and a composition which does not exhibit the spirit of romanticism may also be defective in structure or simply not aim at anything in the nature of formal musical design.

The word 'classical,' as opposed to 'romantic,' has no precise or helpful significance: if it means anything, it is merely a compendious term referring to all the music which is not romantic, and this purely negative sense results in its casting its net so widely, that the creatures which it catches are too varied to be grouped under one genus.

Much has been made of the anti-romantic movement of the 20th century. It was felt, no doubt, that after the climax of romanticism in Wagner, the matter had gone a little too far when Scriabin beat his breast so violently and that it was time to cry a halt. Thus it was that Schönberg and Stravinsky and their followers deliberately—almost too deliberately—turned their backs upon romanticism, and the naked sound matter of a music which was to be not merely unromantic but unemotional entered the field. But to describe contemporary music generally as being unromantic would be inaccurate. For one thing, there is a vein of romanticism even in those who are declared to exhibit the opposite tendency. Schönberg may write as many pure tone patterns as he likes; but they cannot obscure the fact that at an earlier stage of his career he created 'Verklärte Nacht' and 'Gurrelieder.' Stravinsky may tease us with the shafts of 'l'Histoire du Soldat' and present works which are devoid of emotion, like the 1st Pianoforte concerto and the 'Symphonies for wind instruments'; but we cannot forget that he once bewitched our senses with the magic of the 'Firebird,' and caught the glamour of fairy-land in 'The Nightingale'; and that even 'La Sacre du Printemps,' besides its occasional violence and crudity, contains passages of romantic beauty; while in 'Œdipus Rex' the composer seems to be turning to a more imaginative utterance than that which characterised his works of the period

immediately preceding it, so that he has given in his music a distinctly romantic character to this 'classical' tale!

Apart from Schönberg and Stravinsky, and side by side with Bartok, von Webern, and other weavers of sound patterns, the modern epoch includes many writers of romantic music. Strauss, Elgar, and Delius all belong to an older generation, the bulk of whose work dates from a time before the anti-romantic revolt had thoroughly set in: it would therefore hardly be fair, for the purposes of the present argument, to point to the romantic quality of their art; while Debussy—alas!—has been dead for over ten years. But even among the younger men we find romanticism still flourishing. Together with a vein of mysticism, it impregnates the music both of Holst and Vaughan Williams: it dwells in Goossens' sketch 'By the Tarn' and in his Phantasy quartet: it is present in de Falla's 'Nights in the Gardens of Spain,' and in the magic charm of 'El Amor Brujo.' Medtner is essentially a modern romantic, not only in his Russian songs and settings of Goethe's lyrics, but in his works for pianoforte as well. The spirit of romance, in a different form, is present in that unique creator of elusive modern diatonicism, Sibelius. Arnold Bax has written nothing that is not romantic to the core; while the 'Israel' symphony of Ernest Bloch is steeped in the imaginative romanticism of his race.

To describe the present generation as unromantic, then, is, to say the least of it, too sweeping, and this applies in other spheres besides music. The importance and extent of the reaction against romanticism—commonly said to be characteristic of the age in which we are living—have been greatly exaggerated. If it be true that young men and women to-day are inclined to cynicism and satire; that they prefer the verbal sallies of Noel Coward to the sentimental appeal of Barrie, and the bizarre ingenuities of jazz to the love-sick waltzes of a bygone period; that they are alarmingly sensible and efficient, or even scientific; that in short they set more store by 'head' than 'heart'; yet it must be pointed out that this is also an intensely emotional and sensation-loving generation. 'Thrills' and 'romances' and 'sensations' fill our newspapers and our fiction,

our dramas, and our films, and even our law-courts! The novel and the cinematograph industry batten upon our love of romance and adventure.

Surely the lesson to be learnt from all this is that however much we may cultivate common-sense, sheer intellect, satire, and a cynical outlook, we cannot crush out of existence the romantic, sentimental elements of human nature. These so-called ultra-modern, calculating, coldly indifferent, unromantic young things of the 20th century are in most cases innocent baby-humbugs—full of as much romanticism as their grannies and grandpas were, but merely unwilling to confess it! Those of them who are really what they profess to be are so few in number as to be hardly worth counting.

Cutting across the contrast of 'classical' and 'romantic,' is the distinction between 'absolute' and 'programme' music, as applied more particularly to instrumental art. Programme music follows a literary or pictorial scheme which exists apart from the music itself and can be described in words. Absolute music is supposed to be that which is self-contained. The distinction is a very rough one and somewhat superficial: it is fairly satisfactory as an account of the two borders of instrumental music, but is inadequate for the interior of the country. Works like the 'Symphonie Fantastique' of Berlioz or Strauss' 'Don Quixote' are, no doubt, programme music—which simply means that they follow, and are appropriate to, the extra musical ideas which they are supposed to represent. At the other end of the scale, the harpsichord pieces of Domenico Scarlatti and some of the fugues of Bach and sonatas of Haydn, are perhaps as 'absolute' as any music that can be found. But when we think of Beethoven's C minor symphony, Franck's quartet for strings, Chopin's pianoforte compositions—and indeed all the instrumental music which portrays moods and feelings—we realise that to place them in the same class as the unemotional 'concord of sweet sounds' which often charmed the ears of music-lovers before Beethoven's day, or the naked sound sensations which some 20th-century writers have produced, is as inapposite as to treat them as programme music. For the latter portrays external scenes and events or the

character of particular personages, rather than generalised emotions. It looks as though three categories are required—with absolute and programme music representing the two extremes, and, between them, the music which simply expresses moods and feelings or the drama of life itself.

Now romantic music could obviously never be 'absolute' with the meaning with which I have just used the term: it may very well belong to my middle category—as we have seen in the case of Franck's symphony and Beethoven's seventh, and certain instances from Mozart—in the sense that music which conveys emotions may in some cases be romantic, though it is not always so; while programme music is frequently, but not invariably, imbued with romanticism.

It is not my desire to condemn all these labels which theorists and historians have attached to music: they have their uses, and are in some cases convenient when appropriately employed. Too often, however, they are affixed blindly or thoughtlessly. Romanticism is a real quality in music, upon the nature and history of which a whole book might be written. But I believe that we should do well if we were to abolish the word 'classical' from the musical vocabulary altogether, nor am I sure that it is very helpful in the case of literature or the other arts. Ultimately, as Rossini said, music is only of two kinds—good and bad. To discuss and describe the qualities of a composition is one of the main functions of criticism. But 'classical' is not a quality. It is a nondescript portmanteau into which, according to our tastes and temperaments, we throw that which bores us or that which we dutifully admire. But music—the only music that matters for each of us—is never 'classical': it is a joy, a thrill, a romance, and a blessing. The message which it bears is there for us to read—so long as we ourselves do not obscure it by tying on false labels.

R. W. S. MENDL.

Art. 11.—THE SLUM PROBLEM.

HOUSING in this country is a problem which has so fortunately disturbed the public conscience that it has become of general interest. The daily press finds it remunerative to devote thereto much valuable space, and naturally periodicals which take a longer view of publicity recognise it as of vital importance. Yet a housing problem as important, and differing only in one respect from that which now troubles us, has for long existed, and even more flagrantly in the past, disregarded by most of us, engaging the anxious attention of a few. A description of existing slum dwellings to-day wakes pity and protest, though for many generations large sections of the poorer classes have lived, with little notice taken, in surroundings as deplorable, in circumstances almost as harmful to the adolescent as they have undoubtedly been disastrous to the lives and health of children.

Two causes account for the general change of view indicated: the accidental shortage of houses, compelling attention, caused by the War, and the rapid development in widening circles of a philanthropic instinct. Although this last may have been quickened by the change of power between classes, it is obvious that it springs in the main from a more worthy impulse, from the growth of a sense of collective responsibility.

The shortage of houses caused by the War was inevitable. As early as 1916 there were Ministers who, powerless at the time to prevent the catastrophe, saw that it must occur. If 100,000 new houses per year are required to keep the population under roof, and the provision is not only stopped but almost no repairs are done to existing buildings for nearly five years, it is obvious that when vast numbers of citizens return suddenly from overseas they must find themselves either more shelterless than in the fields of war or be intolerably overcrowded, and many in barely habitable quarters. When the time came, with its inevitable consequence, the absence of housing provision for those who had deserved best of their country became a matter of general concern, and indirectly it has roused the public to interest in the larger and ultimately more serious

housing problem which preceded and will survive this shortage.

But the actual shortage of houses was the first need to be met. How many new houses were required? It was as easy to produce varying statistics of the requirement as it was difficult to supply figures on which reliance could be placed. One reason that made the estimate difficult was this: for every hundred houses wanted to make up the actual deficiency there was a far larger but indefinite number of dwellings, apart from derelicts, which had become uninhabitable or nearly so from want of repair. Any one who has had experience of the houses in which the majority of the poor live, and their continual need of repair, will realise how devastating is a period when even the best landlords can through shortage of available labour do very little. If at the end of 1918 all the houses of the poor could have been restored magically to their condition of 1914, the difficulty of the housing situation would have been radically diminished. But the cry at first was only for new houses, and more new houses, until there should be sufficient—as if that, a hard enough task, impossible except by slow process, were the whole problem. The kind of house most urgently required was to begin with not greatly considered; it was numbers of houses of any sort that counted most and would show best in parliamentary papers. Dr Addison, by his Acts of 1919, poured subsidy money into the purse of any person or body of persons who would put up within moderate limits of size four walls and a roof. His system was gigantically expensive to the Exchequer, and in many other ways unsatisfactory; but, in spite of a continuous rise in costs, seriously accelerated by the selfish policy of the building trades-unions, houses began to be erected in considerable quantity. Many of these were built for a comparatively well-to-do black-coated class, this kind of work, and only this kind, being by aid of the subsidy definitely profitable. Nevertheless a start had been made, and it would be unfair to condemn statesmanship which could have no ground of experience for basis. The ruins of that well-intentioned experiment have proved the foundation of more effective measures.

The slum problem is definitely not the housing problem

which was the direct legacy of the War, but the two are closely connected and hard to disentangle, as those responsible for housing legislation quickly discovered. The Acts of 1919, 1923, and 1924 dealt chiefly with the creation of new houses, but they also made some provision for the control of existing dwellings. When we come to Mr Chamberlain's consolidating Act of 1925, we find a great number of sections that deal with existing conditions, as well as provisions to establish a better state of things in the future. Some outline of these important housing measures is desirable, if only to show their relation to the hitherto insoluble slum problem.

Dr. Addison's two Acts of 1919, which have been very largely superseded, roused Local Authorities to action by the inducement of an exchequer grant to cover expenditure in excess of a 1*d.* rate, and gave a very liberal subsidy to individual builders. Mr Neville Chamberlain's Act of 1923 granted 6*l.* a year for twenty years to any authority, person, or body of persons, for each house of a stated size completed within a stated time. Mr Wheatley's Act of 1924 greatly extended the period of Mr Chamberlain's subsidy, and offered a larger subsidy, 9*l.* a year (12*l.* 10*s.* in the country), for forty years, for houses to be let at the equivalent of a 'restricted' rent, i.e. the 'standard,' or pre-war, rent with certain additions. The two former Acts also gave increased facilities for the provision of loans to building enterprise. There remains the Chamberlain Act of 1925, which provides a compendium of housing law and requires closer examination. This has saved what was vital from the great Housing Act of 1890, repealing all of it except one sub-section, and has similarly extracted from later housing Acts all that seemed of permanent value, making such extensions and amendments as were considered advisable. Temporary provisions, such as Rent Restriction and the subsidies of 1923 and 1924 (since reduced), it has left alone; nor has it touched town planning, which Mr Chamberlain likewise consolidated by his Town Planning Act of the same year.

The Housing Act of 1925 is in five Parts. Of these Part I, headed 'Provisions for securing the Repair, Maintenance and Sanitary Conditions of Houses,' is most closely related to the slum problem, which, it should be

borne in mind, is in its essence the problem of checking, and continuing to check, an existing evil of weed-like growth. Section 1 strikes at the heart of the evil by making it obligatory on the owner of every house below a certain annual value to keep it 'in all respects fit for human habitation,' and, to make this effective, Section 3 gives a Local Authority the right to compel the owner of any house below this standard to execute such work as may be necessary to bring it up to the standard, failing which the Local Authority can do the work itself and take the rents as ultimate security for repayment. It may be observed that this is not an obligation; it is no more than a permission; and, as was to be expected, some Boroughs have made far more use than others of the power it confers, or at any rate of the threat to exercise it, which has proved a valuable weapon. Later sections of Part I give Local Authorities many other rights and duties. It is their duty to inspect houses in order to ascertain their condition; to close such as are unfit for human habitation, and to demolish these where necessary; to prohibit sleeping in underground rooms; and, most important of all perhaps, to exercise byelaws for the prevention of overcrowding and the enforcement of such matters as good drainage, adequate sanitary accommodation and water supply, ventilation, cleansing, lighting, storage space, and so forth. Part II of the Act is designed to induce Local Authorities to clear unhealthy areas—in other words, slums—and to use such sites to better advantage. These areas may be compulsorily acquired at site value: i.e. the owner of any existing building in such an area may be dispossessed without compensation. This step seemed justified at the time, but doubt is now felt as to the wisdom of so extreme a provision. In nearly all such areas there are dwellings kept habitable, and others nearly so, as well as dilapidated houses; and, although appeal is allowed to all owners, the appropriate section is so framed that the wheat seems likely not only to be reaped with the tares but to be treated as equally worthless. Largely because of this severity, Local Authorities have hitherto been chary of undertaking schemes under this Part of the Act, and it may be doubted if in any case its provisions offer effective inducement to action. Part III of the Act

supplies the powers by which municipal bodies can proceed to the compulsory purchase of land and the building thereon of working-class dwellings. It gives all reasonable opportunity for such procedure. Parts IV and V deal respectively with finance and miscellaneous matters. It is fair criticism to add that throughout the Act 'may' is as frequent as 'shall' is rare. But in any case it is chiefly public opinion which makes legislation effective, and, in spite of the forces of inertia, backed in the matter of housing by many hostile interests, it is public opinion that has been the best ally of Mr Chamberlain and others in his office, for it gives the impetus which is putting Local Government machinery in motion, and which may need to be persistently applied to keep it moving.

It is claimed with some justice by the Ministry of Health that the problem of providing houses numerically sufficient for the wants of the community is now fairly on the road to solution. But there is no pretence that these supply quarters for the poorest classes. Authority appears to be content with two convenient assumptions to cover this apparent neglect. It is assumed (1) that when all the better-to-do poor are comfortably housed, if even that consummation should ever be attained, a sufficient balance of the older houses will be released, at falling rents, to provide ampler quarters than at present for the rest; and (2) that the very poor, without sufficient earnings to supply them with the ordinary amenities of life, must always be with us. Of these assumptions the first is a surrender to opportunism, the second to pessimism. They invite consideration of a factor the importance of which is too often overlooked in its relation to the present housing problem, the influence of Rent Restriction.

It can hardly be doubted that Rent Restriction was unavoidable, at any rate in the first instance, but there is even less doubt that it was an economic transgression. From the standpoint of abstract justice the Rent Restriction Acts were and are indefensible. What they did—and the process still continues—was to mulct very heavily the owner of one particular class of property. Money had fallen greatly in value, and he was not permitted, as others were permitted, to compensate himself

by an equivalent increase in charge. But expediency as it approaches necessity may be driven to override justice, and if, after the War, there had been no such restriction, wages would have risen still further and the rents of poor class property might have been increased exorbitantly. The measures taken removed this risk, but they have brought in their train evils which are their direct consequence. The 'restricted' landlord, robbed of rights allowed to others, and pitted by self-interest against his tenant, has in most cases done everything in his power, fairly or unfairly, to eject that tenant and get his own back. A vast number of suits in the courts of law have borne witness to his efforts. When the owner of working-class dwellings has succeeded in getting rid of a tenant, he has almost invariably passed on the house, or tenement-lodging, after spending a quite inadequate sum on its renovation, to a family of better class at twice the previous rent, leaving the family dispossessed to fall as a rule still lower in the depths of housing degradation. Yet the owner, if himself a poor man depending largely on his rent, has some justification. Naturally he has spent little or nothing on repairs out of the unremunerative return hitherto received; and when he opens his purse to attract a more substantial tenant, and double the return, the expenditure he can or will afford probably does little more than whiten a sepulchre with very literally a modicum of paint. Thus one direct result of Rent Restriction has been to make it barely possible for the small and poor owner of house property to keep it in decent repair. At any rate when it has once suffered neglect he cannot catch up with its requirements. And the reason is one that demands of statesmanship no common excuse. It is that the rent of the small pre-war house or tenement-lodging stands by itself in the market of to-day—at an artificial figure. It does not represent value. Nothing shows this more clearly than the cost of building new dwellings for the poor. If they are to be let at rents similar to those paid under 'restriction,' they cannot, even with the aid of subsidy, be built for a return on the capital employed exceeding $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This at least is true of London, and can be proved by the operations of certain Public Utility Societies whose aim has been to house those who

are really poor—an immense class hardly affected by the Housing Acts, not the better-paid artisan who can afford L.C.C. and Borough Council flats. To describe those almost unrelieved by the Housing Acts as an immense class is no exaggeration, for it must not be supposed that disability to occupy the new quarters provided by municipalities applies only to the poorest. It is calculated that a working-class family cannot reasonably afford more than one-fifth of its total earnings for rent, rates, and fares to and from work. If on this basis a comparison be made between the capacity-for-rent of any family of the poorer sort and the rent charged for its accommodation in the great majority of dwellings erected under subsidy, the inadequacy of the provision will be clearly revealed. This points at once to the most serious of all objections to Rent Restriction; it has put an end to the *commercial* supply of dwellings for the poor and the possibility of such supply. Published statistics giving the number of houses built by commercial enterprise are entirely misleading if they persuade any one that these include houses to be let to the poor, in the simplest and truest sense of the term. What builder will put his work and his capital into an undertaking that will return him no more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the latter? It may be that the course which has been adopted was unavoidable, but there is no question that it should not be followed for longer than is absolutely necessary. A modification of Rent Restriction which was once proposed may be worth mentioning. The proposal was at least ingenious. If a cumulative addition to the 'standard' rent of 10 per cent. in each successive year had been allowed, *and no freedom from restriction permitted when houses were vacated*, no landlord would have been under the temptation to evict his tenant, and within a comparatively few years free trade in all houses would have been automatically restored.

If the slum problem is to be understood, its origin must be examined. In the many decades of the great industrial development of this country during the last century there was very little control of the conditions in which the poor lived. The convenient doctrine of *laissez-faire* absolved authority from concern with such matters. In consequence the small or large builder

found prosperous employment in erecting, to be let at cheap rents, dwellings still cheaper judged by every other standard of value. Back-to-back houses were perhaps his most pernicious invention, the worst form of wrongful economy for the sake of profit. The building of such houses was prohibited only in 1909, and there are, or were until recently, no less than 72,000 of them in Leeds alone, the number in other large cities being hardly less discreditable. But if the back-to-back house is the worst of types, it provides only a small quota to the mass of dwellings for the poor which from bad design, from faulty construction, from scamped workmanship, or from the inadequate and unhealthy planning of whole streets, are disgracefully unsuited to their purpose. When it is remembered that the great majority of these buildings, on which little has ever been spent on upkeep, are in a ruinous state of disrepair, many of them now irreparable, the extent of the slum evil will begin to be realised. To this evil another class of dwelling adds so importantly that it is sometimes regarded as the most serious stumbling-block in the path of housing reform. Within the last sixty or seventy years an immense number of small houses in our larger cities, but especially in London, which were built as middle-class property, have deteriorated for one reason or another into tenement-dwellings for the poor. There are acres and acres of mean streets in every district of the metropolis composed of houses designed originally for one middle-class family apiece which now contain several poor families per house, each occupying one, two, or three of its ill-adapted rooms. While the street fell in the social scale its material state equally depreciated. One owner sold to another, at diminishing prices, until the worst kind of slum landlord, already in control of the property previously described, came into possession here also. As considerable profit could be made out of either class of property by a judicious combination of totally inadequate repairs and the grasping extraction of as many shillings per week as could be obtained for each room, it still commanded a free market. Its management has been accurately represented in Mr Bernard Shaw's 'Widowers' Houses.' Often the superior landlord was some person of unblemished

respectability and moderate means, thoughtlessly or purposefully uncritical of the source that supplied an income every penny of which was desirable, in many cases needful to him. Usually the rents were farmed out, through several sub-tenancies, but at the bottom was always to be found an agent differing very little from the 'Lickcheese' of Mr Shaw's play. In the days when that play was written, no great time ago, this was a normal rather than an exceptional state of things in the homes of the very poor, and the only subsequent change is that to call them 'normal' might exaggerate to-day the conditions and their extent. The houses are the same, intrinsically worse, but in certain ways they are gradually, if all too slowly, being improved by the exercise of Borough Council powers and byelaws. It can hardly be expected that these should be put into effective operation much more speedily, though the rate varies with the efficiency and temper of different Local Authorities, the stable to be cleansed being Augean in every sense, the task more than Herculean for the number of inspectors found practicable. So it comes about that the slum, regarded in its wider meaning of dwellings not reasonably habitable, still sprawls over our greater cities, poisonous to the moral and physical health of its victims.

As has been shown, a good deal has been done by recent legislation to remedy this evil prospectively, but results must be awaited. There is no legislative wand which could magically transform the hovels—they are hardly better—in which some millions of our fellow-countrymen live to-day, into homes with even the simple amenities demanded by the modern conscience for the poorest civilised beings. This deplorable state of affairs is the natural result of a lack of conscience, absent rather through a want of critical intelligence than of kindness, in previous generations. But to accuse our predecessors of unenlightenment leads nowhere, and the question now to be answered is by what steps, if there be any, the slow remedial action of legislative enactment can be hastened and supplemented by individual effort. Fortunately there is greater hope from this source than from any other. For long past there have been associations doing voluntary housing work of the greatest value,

their activities attracting little notice. Owing to the general interest taken for the first time in housing, this work now receives much greater attention, and incidentally has been stimulated into more vigorous life. To the older associations funds on a scale hitherto unprecedented have been supplied by investors, and profiting by the example and the experience of these pioneers new bodies have sprung rapidly into being, organised on similar lines. The plan of campaign, starting always with the purchase of a vacant site or of derelict or dilapidated buildings, varies thereafter between total new construction, partial reconstruction, and what is known as the 'reconditioning' of existing property. The movement, working through many agencies, has this outstanding merit, that it strikes directly at the heart of the trouble, without the delays inseparable from municipal procedure, and that those it assists are the class most neglected but most in need of housing relief. If the movement continues to receive in increasing ratio the public support already given it, there is no doubt that it will play a decisive part in the future of housing. It may fairly be claimed that it had its origin in the work of Octavia Hill, whose principles and methods are extolled to-day by all instructed opinion, from that of the Minister of Health downwards. The method she invented is worthy of close attention, because it attacks the slum problem with precisely the right weapons and a success that has been clearly demonstrated. It can best be explained by going back to its genesis.

Octavia Hill, who was born in 1838 and died in 1912, was a very remarkable Englishwoman, who devoted her whole life and keen intelligence to the interests of the community. She took an active part in various forms of social service, but the branch of thought and work which she made peculiarly her own was housing. In 1865, financed by Ruskin, she bought three houses in a dilapidated court in Marylebone close to her own home. They were full of tenants of the poorest class, and with these and their needs she became closely intimate—an easy task, for she collected the weekly rents herself and had a gift for making friends with people of every sort. The houses were reconditioned, admirably managed and kept in repair, and the rents

strictly and punctually collected; for she was an excellent business woman and a determined opponent of indiscriminate charity.* So her great experiment began. Presently Ruskin added six more houses to the colony, and by this time Miss Hill had gathered round her a band of helpers, one of her earliest fellow-workers being Emma Cons. Thenceforward her house property continually grew, because, in spite of free expenditure on upkeep, she found that she could safely maintain a return of 5 per cent. on the money invested. Naturally funds were more readily forthcoming from those interested in her work when they found that their philanthropy was not even unprofitable, and before long she was responsible for 3500 tenants. At a later stage she undertook, as always with unfailing success, the management of a large area of working-class property in Southwark, by the urgent request of its owners, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. This was possible because her staff of paid women managers increased under her training as rapidly as the work extended, and because her system, given women of the right stamp, was fool-proof.

What, then, is the Octavia Hill system? At first sight the method appears so elementary that the inquirer may wonder that it should engage so much attention. But it is the simplest methods which are often the most far-reaching in their effects. It has two main features, the first being the substitution of a good for a bad landlord by purchasing the latter's property and accepting 5 per cent., or less, instead of a much larger return, on the capital employed. The principle here involved will readily commend itself. To limit profit in order to ensure a good instead of a worthless result is obviously the soundest economy. Nor can it be said to pauperise the tenant if the rent he pays provides adequately for the upkeep of his home after supplying an acceptable return on the capital invested. But the great merit of the policy is its proved and practical success. In Miss Hill's day the ordinary slum landlord expected to make perhaps 15 per cent. out of his property, careless of its slow depreciation, and usually as he made it he spent it,

* 'If you want to do good to slum dwellers, never remit rent and never give them money,' was Miss Hill's considered advice.

leaving himself at last financially incapable of putting his ruined buildings in order. Her system of management demonstrated that the tenants could be well housed, the property kept up, and a sufficient margin still be left for a return on capital. The importance of such a demonstration is clear. If this could be done here and there, why not everywhere? And the question has still to be answered.

The second feature of the Octavia Hill system may appear of even less significance, but its results have proved it to be of equal and complementary value. It is the collection of the rents by trained women, who must also be responsible, under supervision, for the management and upkeep of the houses allotted to them. The slum rent collector of the old type, and he is still too common, was an agent whose sole business it was to extract rent week by week by every means in his power, by bullying, bluff, or cajolery; the last thing the tenant had to hope from him was benefit. Miss Hill's rent collector was in every case a trained woman, one of her own class, of whose interest in the work and sympathy with its aims she was assured, and whose training, of a thoroughly business-like character, had been under her own personal control. The qualities required in the woman were mostly the opposite of those necessary to the ruthless instrument she replaced. It was as much her business to see that no advisable repair was overlooked as to collect the rent. Each week, therefore, she came not only with a demand for rent but with the potentiality of benefit; and her experience enabled her to judge how much reason there might be in any request or complaint by a tenant. It is the woman of the house with whom the rent collector has normally to deal, and it was found in practice that she was best dealt with by a woman. It was also found—and this is an essential point—that without undue interference, to which Miss Hill was strongly opposed, her managers established with the tenants friendly relations which became an influence of important educational value, encouraging the self-respect which more than anything else tends to convert a bad into a good tenant.

A system can only be justified by its results, and these

can best be proved by giving concrete instances of its application. The examples which follow, in illustration of the Octavia Hill method, are chosen not because they are unique, rather that they are typical, but mainly because they represent achievement of which the writer of this article has intimate knowledge and can speak at first hand. The activities of the Improved Tenements Association deserve attention because its length of experience has made it a worthy model for several recent undertakings of a similar character. It was started under the direct auspices of Octavia Hill and has a record covering twenty-eight years of continuous and successful expansion. The simplicity of its origin has encouraged, and should still further encourage, imitation. In 1899 a few residents in South Kensington, after consulting Miss Hill, subscribed sufficient capital between them to purchase and recondition four dilapidated 'tenement' houses in an area of Notting Dale where housing conditions were at their worst. Octavia Hill managers were of course employed. As the work succeeded according to plan, and was obviously capable of unlimited expansion if funds could be obtained progressively, the enterprise was constituted a public company in 1900, such a thing as a Public Utility Society being then unknown. The extent of the Company's property has grown from that time to this, slowly for many years but far more rapidly since the War, and it now consists of 174 houses, every one of which was to start with a slum in miniature, or nearly so, but now provides decent homes for the same persons, or the same class of persons, that it formerly held. Since the War the rents have of course been increased, but not by the full amount authorised by the Rent Restriction Acts, and they remain in the truest sense rents for the poor. The policy of the Company has been to limit dividends to 4 per cent. (less was paid during the War), and to put any balance to reserve; the Directors are unpaid, and administrative expenses cut down to a minimum, the cost of house-management being a percentage on the rents collected. It will readily be understood that the whole process is simplified by the actual management of the property being in the hands of the Association of Women's House Property Managers, a body which

represents the Octavia Hill tradition and carries on her system.

Here, then, is exemplified a course of action through which slums can be destroyed by the simplest means, by converting the wretched dwellings which compose them into stable and healthy homes. It is indisputable that such a method is only limited by the amount of money which the public may be willing to invest for a modest return. There is scarcely any limit to the bad property (and the worse its state the more suitable it is for the purpose) that can be bought and reconditioned. At any corner of the large district where the work alluded to is in progress one may turn from a row of comfortable houses occupied by middle-class folk into a street, similarly constructed, whose dwellings, shattered by disrepair, are overcrowded with the poor. Roofs leak, paper hangs in strips from damp and verminous walls, sanitary arrangements are at best inadequate and more often dangerously defective. Houses of this sort can be bought at a reasonable figure, but only as a rule after prolonged negotiations. Invariably the owner asks twice their value, but second thoughts and the pressure of circumstances usually bring him to terms. Pressure of circumstances may be especially formidable at the present time, when a Local Authority, if it does its duty, serves notices to enforce repair on the owners of as many such dwellings as it can discover. This does not mean that all bad property is under notice, far from it; for to carry out its whole duty in this matter is as impossible for a Borough Council as the task suggested for the 'seven maids with seven mops.' Moreover, the procedure is useless in the common case of an owner who has no means to comply with the notice, unless the Local Authority is prepared to undertake the work itself, a course of action which it studiously avoids. But the fact that this municipal power exists is a compulsion in itself, and tends to reduce the price of bad property to a just figure.

The importance of buying cheaply needs emphasis and explanation. Although reconditioning is the least costly and speediest way of dealing with slum houses, experience has proved that even 4 per cent. cannot be earned unless the property is well bought. This is

hardly surprising, because thorough reconditioning of these half-ruined houses costs almost as much as their purchase, and annual repairs are an exceptionally heavy expense. If it be urged that the money should be given and not lent, the answer both of reason and experience is conclusive. The problem to be met is one that will outlive the present crisis, when an emotional generosity is easily stirred, and, if the movement is to survive and expand to its full value, it is essential that it should have an economic and not merely a charitable basis. Moreover, at any time, even the present, loan-money is obtainable in much larger amounts than gift-money, and what is wanted is money in quantity, and continuously. A question raised at a recent housing meeting was whether a gift of 100% were better, or less good, than the loan of 200% at a low rate of interest, and expert opinion favoured the investment. But in practice 1000%, or more, is likely to be lent for every 100% given. This has at any rate been true until recently and will again be true in the near future.

The work of the Improved Tenements Association has been almost entirely reconditioning, though on occasion houses actually derelict have been reconstructed as flats. But reconditioning, invaluable though it is, does not meet the need for more housing space. To deal with this, various bodies have lately been formed, some of which aim at a combination of reconditioning, reconstruction, and new construction. An interesting example, which has attracted much notice, is the St Pancras House Improvement Society. Two large blocks of exceedingly bad and partially derelict property were purchased with funds subscribed for this venture, and plans have been evolved, which may take some years to complete, by which these will be progressively developed. The scheme is architecturally ingenious, and provides for the retention of certain houses and their addition in a reconstructed form to new buildings. By a system of decanting into new dwellings that replace derelicts, it will be possible to keep all existing tenants with a minimum of disturbance. In passing, it should be noted that to provide for, or to avoid, the temporary displacement of tenants is a difficulty that arises in every housing scheme. When houses are reconditioned, the difficulty is as a rule

surprisingly simplified by the eagerness with which tenants, for the sake of future benefit, will put up with serious temporary discomfort rather than move for the time into any other quarters, even if such can be made available. In the case of wholesale reconstruction, on the other hand, some sort of clearing house has to be provided.

As has already been pointed out, new dwellings, if they are to be let at really low rents, cannot be built for a return on the outlay of more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and, as low rents are a basic aim of the St Pancras enterprise, the Society has had to raise money at this unattractive rate. It has obtained subscriptions aggregating a large sum chiefly in $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. loan-stock, but a good deal more will be required to enable it to complete its present programme, while its labours might be extended indefinitely if additional funds should be forthcoming. The work is already at a stage which will well repay a visit of inspection.

Another concern which is now very notably active is the recently formed Kensington Housing Trust. It issues loan-stock both at 4 per cent. and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but appeals particularly for subscriptions to the latter, and as it happens, has raised, through the exceptional generosity of a few individuals, a very considerable sum in free gifts. It has taken on long lease and reconditioned half a street of dilapidated buildings, but its special engagement is the erection of a block of thirty-six flats, of the most up-to-date design, to be let to tenants of the poorest class.

In both the above instances management is on Octavia Hill lines, administration of the properties being in the hands of that ever-growing body, the Association of Women's House Property Managers.

A most important matter with which Octavia Hill management has dealt successfully is overcrowding. It would be hard to exaggerate the extent of this evil, which is mainly confined to the class of property that has been described. Naturally the poor crowd into as few rooms as will hold them, because it is cheaper. But even if a married couple start in ample space, it is a condition unlikely to continue. Children arrive with disconcerting regularity, and until they outlive school

age bring nothing to the purse which supplies their wants. The municipal duty of preventing overcrowding is therefore like cutting off hydra-heads of rapidly recurrent growth. But even to clear overcrowded premises in the first instance is at present usually impracticable, because alternative accommodation is rarely procurable, and the choice before a family packed to demoralising density is as a rule merely between this unhealthy existence under cover and the street. Mr Neville Chamberlain, who as all agree has taken infinite pains in studying every detail of housing conditions, has declared repeatedly that the slum problem turns on management, and has as often unreservedly praised the form of it which has here been so strongly commended. It is simply a fact, surprising even to those most closely connected with Octavia Hill administration, that in the poorest property controlled by this method there is never, when it has had time to function, serious overcrowding. The house-managers are always on the look out for a redistribution which will meet the needs of this family or that, such careful and patient scrutiny, backed by the will to serve, being not only half the battle but the only sure road to victory over this and many other obstacles in the fight against slums.

The task attempted in this article has been to show what the real slum problem is, disengaging it from what is merely temporary in the present housing crisis, and to indicate how best it can be met. The main conclusions drawn may be thus summarised. The problem cannot be met, only indirectly relieved, by subsidy; it will not be touched by commercial enterprise until rent restriction has been abolished and the rents of working-class property gradually find a level which will restore a lost equilibrium; its difficulties, on the other hand, can be greatly lessened by the rigid enforcement of municipal powers and byelaws, though these, it should be added, require extensive revision and improvement. No one with knowledge of the circumstances can have any doubt as to the extent and grievous nature of the evil to be combatted. Mr Lloyd George recently described a deplorable London area over which he was conducted as a Bolshevik munition factory. For even so extreme and alarming a simile there is some basis. Where conditions

such as were revealed prevail, a breeding-ground is provided alike for diseases of the body and intemperance of the mind. It is at least excusable to those brought up in such surroundings if they should fail to see hope of betterment except through a revolutionary change in a social system that suffers this state of things to continue. That legislative measures should hitherto have availed so little to remedy the evil may be disappointing, but if it is true, and it is true, that the public has power, through widespread individual action, to change the situation beneficially and permanently, the prospect may be regarded as hopeful. There is no reason why the slum landlord of the old harmful type should survive. If the bulk of those with money to invest could be induced to apply some small part of it to his replacement, he would presently be relegated to the records of a humiliating past. It may reasonably be suggested that to do this should even be regarded as a duty. For all who may so regard it there are wide and various opportunities of investment. In no previous social movement has there been so great a chance at such small sacrifice.

REGINALD ROWE.

NOTE.—The Editor will gladly put in touch with the author of this article any reader who may wish to make inquiries with reference to the housing activities mentioned.

Art. 12.—THE EARL OF BALFOUR.

1. *A Defence of Philosophic Doubt.* Being an essay on the foundations of belief. By Arthur James Balfour, M.A., M.P. Macmillan, 1879.
2. *The Foundations of Belief.* Being notes introductory to the study of theology. By the Rt Hon. Arthur James Balfour. Longmans, 1895.
3. *Essays and Addresses.* By the Rt Hon. Arthur James Balfour, M.P., F.R.S., D.C.L., Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Edinburgh: R. Douglas, 1905.
4. *Theism and Humanism.* Being the Gifford Lectures delivered at the University of Glasgow, 1914. By the Rt Hon. Arthur James Balfour, M.A., F.R.S., LL.D., D.C.L. Hodder, 1915.
5. *Essays: Speculative and Political.* By the Rt Hon. A. J. Balfour. Hodder, 1920.
6. *Theism and Thought.* A study in familiar beliefs. Being the second course of Gifford Lectures. Delivered at the University of Glasgow, 1922-1923. By Arthur James Balfour, Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M. Hodder, 1923.
7. *Aspects of Home Rule.* Selected from the Speeches of the Rt Hon. Arthur James Balfour, M.P. Routledge, 1912.
8. *Opinions and Arguments from Speeches and Addresses of the Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., F.R.S., 1910-1927.* Edited by Mrs Edgar Dugdale. Hodder, 1927.
And other works.

AMONG subjects of inquiry deserving the attention of statisticians in an age as devoted to averages as our own the longevity of Prime Ministers, if not on account of its intrinsic interest at least then of its moral issues, is surely one. For, working these high dignitaries as we do progressively harder, paying them proportionately less and pensioning them not at all, we appear bound in common humanity to ask ourselves whether we also wear them out before their time.

There appears, however, to be no reason to suppose that we inflict upon them this final inconvenience. Their prospect of life seems to have increased not only in common with that of humbler individuals but actually

in advance of it; so that they may even appear to possess some hope of contending successfully against the long-lived race of archbishops with whom a rule, no more ancient than Lord Balfour's Premiership, has at length closely associated them in the mysteries of social precedence towards the pleasures or perils of the table. The State, as the examples of Burghley and Danby discover, was not, in this matter of longevity, incapable of holding its own against the Church in the 17th century. But, doubtless under the influence of the Methuen treaty, its champions lost points in the 18th; and premiers were drowned in bottles of port wine as effectively as Clarence in his butt of malmsey. With Victoria a change of manners which was also a change of morals made itself felt. Four prime ministers in her reign and another of her reign lived to be over eighty; and the tale of the last is happily not yet told. This year the ranks of the octogenarians have gained a new recruit from among the prime ministers of King Edward. There is indeed some room for philosophic doubt as to whether Lord Balfour in any scientific sense of the word is really eighty. Neither upon his own plane of reference nor upon that of an observer would he appear to satisfy the conditions of proof required. He cannot possibly be suspected of feeling eighty, nor can he plausibly be described as looking it. Yet, according to the anachronistic principles of clock-time which still shackle the mind of the historian, he has now entered his eighty-first year; and a periodical, consecrated as this is to Conservative studies, might seem to fail of its duty if the occasion were to pass without a word.

Consider—to borrow a verb that he uses so often as to make it the most characteristic in his vocabulary—that there is no speaker alive in Britain whom a learned audience would more gladly hear; no figure whom a hostess would more eagerly desire to see among her guests; no talker who can give so much point and zest to a conversation. Consider that we boast in these Islands—or indeed this Empire—no mind more subtle, no manner with greater charm, no learning more lightly carried than his. Consider, too, that if we imagine some competition in what were once called 'parts'

between representative champions of the nations of the world, there is no one of whom we can so certainly affirm that his choice as an example of all they prize most in their inheritance would be approved by the foremost of his countrymen. / Acton, indeed, has warned us that 'no public character has ever stood the revelation of private utterances and correspondences.'* Yet who will resign himself to the belief that the melancholy aphorism can never meet its match or what man of our time need abandon the hope that even in the very case before us it has been competently challenged?

Great things, anyhow, are to be expected of Scotsmen; and it is with a Scotsman that we are concerned—a Lowlander, hailing not from the haunted regions of high romance that lie north and west, aye and south too, of Edinburgh, but from that pleasant county of East Lothian stretching eastwards to the sea. The Marian Saga, it is true, touches Whittingehame with an icy hand; here in the garden Morton and Bothwell planned the death of Darnley. But all the soul and aspect of the grey Grecian house speaks of a Scotland cured, if that be the word, of the love of lost causes, or at least content to leave them on the shelf to which Scott has so shrewdly and lovingly relegated them—of a Scotland, that is, prudent and Presbyterian, yet proud of a past that was neither the one thing nor the other. It seems proper to add that some English blood which found its way to Whittingehame in the early days of Victoria has not seemed to the world to have impaired the excellence of the good Scottish stocks of Balfour and Maitland that were there before it.

Arthur James Balfour, the eldest son of his father's marriage with Lady Blanche Cecil, was born in the famous year that passes by the name of the Year of Revolution. Pagan historians, doubtless, would have argued from that hour of falling thrones and rising republics, that portents hung about his birth, and Christian parents might well have wondered what sort of voyage a child born under such auspices was likely to have through the waves of an exceedingly troubled and troublesome world. The traveller, in this instance, was at any rate in one respect admirably equipped.

* 'Hist. Essays and Studies,' p. 506.

Physically, intellectually, and politically, as his whole career showed, he was fearless. Nature granted him another asset. No precocity marred his development. In due course he proved able to assimilate without rebellion the varied gifts of circumstance—the stern creed of his country, the amiable dilettantism of Eton, the deep questionings of Cambridge. Religious thought, as we might paraphrase these successive influences, lightly carried, logically explored! From each source he drew something; and his mind was to bear the marks of them all. For the rest of his eye fastened quickly upon the centre of the intellectual target, and he shot from the first for a bull's-eye.

‘I went to Cambridge,’ he observes in one of those rare but illuminating fragments of autobiography that lie scattered among his writings, ‘with a very small equipment of either philosophy or science but a very keen desire to discover *what* I ought to think of the world and *why*. For the history of speculation I cared not a jot. Dead systems seemed to me of no more interest than abandoned fashions. My business was with the groundwork of living beliefs; in particular with the groundwork of that scientific knowledge whose recent developments had so profoundly moved mankind. And surely there was nothing perverse in asking modern philosophers to provide us with a theory of modern science.’*

The young student of metaphysics was so much the more deceptive that he read philosophy at Trinity much as Lord Rosebery read history at Christ Church—that is to say, for itself and not for the Schools. Observers were duped, including even one so well situated for observation as his bed-maker. ‘He leaves a great many books about,’ that worthy is alleged to have remarked, ‘but he doesn’t really read them.’ A second in the Moral Science Tripos did little to correct these impressions. He seemed a lesser man intellectually than some of his brothers, though one and probably both of his remarkable brothers-in-law—Lord Rayleigh and Prof. Sidgwick—judged him otherwise.

It was of more practical consequence that his uncle who had lately become Lord Salisbury and was soon to be associated with Disraeli in the Conservative revival

* ‘Theism and Humanism,’ p. 138.

of the 'seventies, found him interesting. This influence, powerful with him personally and with the borough of Hertford politically, brought him into Parliament at the General Election of 1874—the election which gave the Conservatives the first real majority they had had since the Repeal of the Corn-Laws. 'A very pretty, quaint, tall boy, clever and funny' he had seemed a few years before to one member of a family* which afforded him some intimate friendships; and the House of Commons did not, perhaps, see him at first so very differently. The delicate figure; the apparent nervousness; the hesitating, if finished diction; the studious detachment—these were hardly the qualities to recommend themselves as sponsors of success to the Parliament of 1874 with its full complement of country squires and hard-headed men of business. Nor did either his first intervention in debate or his first attempt at legislation do much to inform their judgment. Any fortune might have been foretold or any fate foreboded in the case of one who, if the metaphor may pass, took his plunge into the chill waters of the political stream off Bimetallism and then made a dive for a Burials Bill.

† In the same year in which he promoted this latter lugubrious measure, he attended, in the capacity of one of Salisbury's secretaries, the Congress of Berlin. All the greatest statesmen of Europe were gathered there, and all the glitter of them irradiated the scene. Here was certainly such a world-current as the immortal aphorism † might be held to recommend for the formation of Character. But Talent, not less resolutely than Character, demanded and in this case obtained its due. It was one of Mr Balfour's qualities and, as some may argue, one of his defects that the claims of public activity never supplanted the charms of private speculation—that he retained always the philosopher's preference for the contemplative as against the practical life. Even what most distinguished him as a politician—his subtle brilliancy in debate—was in some sense the reflection of a dialectic which he had matured in the schools of philosophy. The style here was emphatically the man;

* Lady Frederick Cavendish's Diary.

† 'Es bildet ein Talent sich in der Stille,
Sich ein Charakter in dem Strom der Welt.'

and the man was, in the more original and less specialist sense of the word, a philosopher. In this is to be found the peculiar interest and attraction of his metaphysical studies. They discover indeed a philosopher, but one who among philosophers appears a man of the world, markedly and entertainingly free from the foible of taking systems and the authors of them too seriously.

Somewhere among Lord Morley's writings there lies what the irreverent call a purple patch where he speaks of the incidence of his undergraduate days at a date when the star of Newman had set and the sun of Mill risen high in the heavens. The rays of this later luminary still lit the Universities at the time of Mr Balfour's coming to Cambridge, but what had appeared light to one future Irish Secretary seemed darkness to the other. 'I was referred to Mill,' Mr Balfour was one day to tell a Scottish audience with reference to his early search for that groundwork of scientific knowledge which he had desired to possess himself of, 'and the shock of disillusionment remains with me to the present day.'*

In what precisely did this disillusionment consist? Briefly, in the fact that Natural Science has nothing better to offer the metaphysician than a number of particular experiences in support of its assertion of general laws. Knowledge, according to Mill, is in the last resort based upon an enumeration of inferences from individual cases. The major premise of the syllogism affords consequently no proof, though it may register a presumption of the conclusion. To quote Mill himself in illustration: 'All men are mortal is not the proof that Lord Palmerston is mortal; but our past experience of mortality authorises us to infer both general truth and the particular fact and the one with exactly the same degree of assurance as the other.'

Natural Science, dependent as it is upon law for its life-blood, has, thus, nothing more to offer us as a pledge of law prevailing than the fact that under certain conditions a particular phenomenon has occurred a number, perhaps a very great number, of times. Do such sparse and precarious observations of certain apparent sequences in a world of inexhaustible complexity really deserve to be regarded as a sound and sufficient support for a

* 'Theism and Humanism,' p. 138.

system of knowledge that rules out chance and affirms universal causation and unbroken law over the whole field of phenomena? Surely not, and so much the less that the familiar test methods of the logician—the methods of agreement and difference—are impossible of application! ‘The method of difference,’ observed the merciless young man in whose wake we are following, ‘would certainly prove a general law of nature, if it could be applied; but then it unfortunately never can be applied.’ Why? Because ‘the state of the universe is never the same at two successive instants in every particular but one.’

Thus can Metaphysic trouble the deep waters of Science. Nor is this all. The world in which the law of causation is alleged to hold sway consists for thought, according to Mill’s diagnosis, of ‘sensations and permanent possibilities of sensation.’ Outside of these there is nothing that the mind can apprehend; and all that is not sensation must therefore be a permanent possibility of it. But ‘a possibility is nothing until it becomes an actuality. . . . A universe, therefore, which consists of such possibilities is a universe which for the present does not exist.’ Yet out of this non-existent universe, itself neither perceiving nor perceived, the perceiving organism, according to natural science, has somehow emerged—a miracle indeed not inferior to those for which other authority is claimed. ‘If Idealism be true, Evolution’—nay, if it comes to that, Science itself—‘is a dream.’

Yet Science, as the brilliant critic proceeds to show, fares no better if it shifts its weight from the ‘psychological idealism’ of John Stuart Mill to the ‘transfigured realism’ of Herbert Spencer. For knowledge of the physical world rests either upon the immediate data of the senses, or upon the inferences to be derived from them; and these on the scientific hypothesis are in flat contradiction. The stable colour, for example, that the eye perceives is resolved by science into a mass of vibrating atoms; and, since the book appeared, solid matter has melted into a universe of discontinuous electrons whirling about a central nucleus. The study of physics thus gives the lie to the experiences of sensation. What is, is not what appears to be. In a word: ‘The conclusions of science, if made to depend solely

on the immediate knowledge given in perception, do not as a matter of fact harmonise with their premises.'

The argument having been brought to this point, though of course with a much greater wealth of detail, the writer is in a position to deliver his concluding thrusts; and he does it with a finished ease in which all the promise of a great debater may be discerned. With science resting upon so insecure a metaphysical foundation, it would, he insinuates, appear that the rationalist attack upon religion is unseemly:

'That men of science should exaggerate the claims of Science is natural and pardonable, but why the ordinary public whose knowledge of science is confined to what they can extract from fashionable lectures and popular handbooks should do so, it is not quite easy to understand. The force of the attack upon religion depends in the last resort upon the discrepancy the anti-religious controversialists find, or think they find, between Religion and Science. It must require, therefore, a belief in, at all events, the comparative certitude of science. On what does this belief finally depend? Are we to suppose that they rest its whole weight on the frail foundation supplied by the contradictory fragments of Philosophy we have been discussing?'

There, then, with a bow of equal gravity in the directions both of Science and Religion and a modest admonition to the scientists not to have too good, and to the theologians not to have too poor a conceit of themselves, this mover of hard questions leaves his readers to the pains or pleasures of philosophic doubt. Metaphysicians, depending as they do rather upon the manipulation of thought than the acquisition of knowledge, can, as he suggests in his essay on Berkeley, be earlier in the field than other kinds of controversialists; and he himself exemplifies the truth of it. At the age of thirty-one and in the midst of other activities, he had in all probability struck a shrewder blow for religious orthodoxy than any prime minister of his time. Neither Gladstone's solemn logomachy, nor Disraeli's sardonic banter, nor yet the grave irony in which Salisbury delighted, did, perhaps, so much for the cause of religion as this metaphysical riposte with its exquisite accompaniment of badinage. Certainly his were no bludgeon strokes, if such were looked for.

There was nothing but one rapier-thrust, delivered with the adversary's sword, but that thrust was sufficient to reach the brain and leave a corpse.

We have loitered long enough in academic fields and must hurry back to Westminster where the Parliament of 1874 had been displaced by the Parliament of 1880. The fall of the Conservative Party from power and its entry into opposition opened the usual avenue of occasion to its younger members; and the selection of the amiable but ineffective Northcote as Conservative Leader in the Commons doubled their opportunity of distinction. Another thing assisted their advancement. The new Parliament contained what Lord Balfour, forty years afterwards, was to describe as a 'most marvellous parliamentary phenomenon'—a party, in his judgment, without equal for rigid discipline and wealth of oratory 'in the whole history of our or perhaps of any other parliament'—the Irish Party under Parnell.* These three circumstances together fostered the growth of a fourth—of that famous group of free-lances which went by the name of the Fourth Party. Randolph Churchill, relying upon Gorst's knowledge, upon Wolff's political address, and, above all, upon his own supreme gift of derision, resolved to discharge independently those functions of Opposition to which Northcote, perhaps from native inability, perhaps from a certain diffidence in face of his former chief, was proving unequal. Hostilities were therefore initiated, not only against the Leader of the House, but against the Leader of the Opposition. The tactics adopted corresponded with the natures of the men assailed. Whilst Gladstone was goaded to rage, Northcote was smothered in ridicule.

The Fourth Party had a fourth member. Or at least, to be quite accurate, so it was generally supposed, for Lady Randolph Churchill in her memoirs has it that Mr Balfour, drawn one way by love of political sport and the other by Salisbury's cynical reproaches, was rather a casual associate of the brotherhood than a true companion in arms. Perhaps for this reason, the portrait of him preserved in the best record of the Fourth Party's activities has rather the qualities of a Sargent than a Richmond. He was, we are told, 'an affable and rather

* 'Opinions and Argument,' p. 33.

idle young gentleman who had delicately toyed with philosophy and diplomacy, was earnest in the cause of popular concerts, and brought to the House of Commons something of Lord Melbourne's air of languid and well-bred indifference.*

'Punch,' as Mr Churchill reminds us, had at that time some puppets on the stage who passed by the names of Postlethwaite and Maudle—a poet and an artist before whom all the ladies of Belgravia were supposed to bow down. In the former Randolph affected to discern the image of his colleague. There was this much truth and no more in the comparison that about this time the society of 'souls' was born—a company of elect persons about whom Harcourt is reported to have observed that all he knew of them was that they had beautiful bodies, and of whom Lady Oxford in her Autobiography has given some further account. Of this coterie the young devotee of pre-Raphaelite art became the idol. A collection of Burne-Joneses hung in his house; and it would not be inaccurate to add that a galaxy of fair women hung upon his words.

For the character and quality of those words Posterity might do worse than turn to the volume of 'Essays and Addresses' which in its original and shorter form dates from about this time, and is perhaps of all his writings the most personal and revealing. The opening article on the Pleasures of Reading is one of those perfect 'causeries' which may be taken as a recognition, if not a discharge of the author's obligation to Sainte Beuve. The appreciations of Berkeley and Handel that follow discover a larger debt—a debt not merely to these famous figures but to the age that bore them. The exquisite clarity of the philosopher and the grand manner of the musician, pregnant alike as, perhaps, neither metaphysic nor music have been since with religious significance—these were the qualities and those the men that caught his imagination and in the intellectual sense define his period. The ease, the urbanity, the freedom from all that is pedantic, the subtle distinction, the exquisite irony, tend alike to establish his kinship with the 18th century or at least with a world that had its roots there. It is all of a piece,

* Churchill, 'Life of Lord Randolph Churchill.'

even if we discount his affection for Scott as a Scotsman's preference, that he loves so well the Austen novels; that, Stevenson, perhaps, excluded, he seems hardly [to desire to carry fiction farther; that he is alleged to have disposed of the English Beaumarchais, both satire and satirist, with the terse but not the less penetrating observation that Thackeray was not, as the phrase goes, 'in society' when he drew its portrait. Thus it might be no idle paradox to maintain that a personality which has singularly enriched and embellished the society of the Fifth of the Georges drew no small part of its gifts and graces, its sweetness and light, from a period that ended with the reign of the Fourth.

One wonders which of Lord Balfour's urbane epigrams and swift repartees will find their way down to posterity. Lady Oxford has indeed made one of them safe by recording the disaster that befell Frank Harris. 'The fact is, Mr. Balfour,' observed that unfortunate, temerarious man, 'all the faults of the age come from Christianity and journalism.' 'Christianity, of course,' came the immortal reply, 'but why journalism?' Then, again, there is his alleged instruction during the Great War to a diplomatist entrusted with the conduct of British affairs in the capital of an ancient but not very enthusiastic ally. 'Congratulate the Government to which you are accredited upon the admirable valour of their troops, yet at the same time make it quite clear that that valour fell short of the occasion.' To another and greater manufacturer of squibs and crackers, who took occasion to remark that Dr Johnson had always seemed to him a very ill-educated man, he merely complained that he had not quite caught the adjective. Authentic or not, these Balfouriana at any rate were once current and possess, unless I am mistaken, the required flavour to make plausible their claims and probably their vitality. But to go on and also to go back!

He emerged then—this great gentleman of the 18th century—upon the stage of the eighteen-nineties yet with a marked and memorable difference from many of those who have turned their eyes back upon the past. He betrayed no fretfulness at the present, no apprehension about the future, no morbid regret for the grace of a day that is gone. Perhaps he was better sheltered than

most men by the circle that surrounded him from the chill wind of change; perhaps, for all his Conservative opinions, a Whig temperament modified that 'pain of new ideas' of which Bagehot has eloquently spoken. At all events he faced novelty with interest and appreciation, was a patron of the art of his time and a student of its sciences. This happy gift of facing-both-ways, this constitutional equipment for the business of transition, was to enable him in due course to take his place in the history of Conservative leadership between Lord Salisbury and Mr Baldwin.

The political pundits of the early 'eighties would, doubtless, have been beyond measure astonished had one told them that this was to be the end. An intellectual orientation and a social constellation such as has been indicated would have seemed to them a singular way of qualifying for the command of the Conservative party. Yet not the Fifth Henry nor the Great Frederick was more rapidly transformed, when it came to the point, than the young man whom 'Toby M.P.' was pleased to call 'Prince Arthur.' It needed no more than a few months of power to convert the supposedly fragile æsthete into a minister with his life in his hands and those hands firm as iron. A change of government gave him office; a change of places put him in the roughest and most responsible post in the Administration—the post which had cost Forster his reputation and Frederick Cavendish his life and which Hicks-Beach had just found too hard to fill. It must have seemed madness to confer the Irish Secretaryship on one whose delicate health had compelled him to take medical advice before accepting office at all, and whose official experience consisted in no more than the briefest of terms, first as President of the Local Government Board and then as Secretary for Scotland. The world made sure that the appointment would not succeed; but the world proved to be mistaken.

Some strange attraction had already drawn the fortunes of this Lowland Scot into the orbit of the Irish Question. His denunciation in 1882 of the Kilmainham Treaty between Gladstone and Parnell—that so-called 'treaty' of which a commentator has satirically said that 'upon the basis that no sort of agreement

existed, Mr Gladstone undertook to introduce an Arrears Bill and the Irish Leader promised to "slow down the Agitation"—had been of sufficient vigour to cause the House of Commons for the first time to take account of him. And again in 1885 he had been charged by Gladstone to carry to Salisbury a memorable, though abortive, offer of co-operation in the settlement of Irish affairs. But not, of course, in such chances as these is the genesis or the genius of his appointment to be found. His qualifications for the post lay in the fact that he was peculiarly equipped, as well by tradition as by temperament, to be the champion of the Irish Unionists. As a Scotsman, he had had the advantages of the Union of Scotland with England constantly present to his eyes and, as one might say, implanted in his bones. As a member of the Church of Scotland, he was more than usually responsive to those claims of religious and racial superiority that the Ulstermen prefer against the Irish of the other provinces. And finally as a philosophic imperialist he was, at least in those days, of opinion that the progress of an organic polity is from a looser to a closer union, and that such decentralisation as existed in Germany and Austria must be regarded as a mark of political imperfection.

Time and circumstance, as every one knows, have played no little havoc with these ideas. A mechanical without a moral union no longer satisfies the conscience of a community—or federation of communities—that has fought under the banner of self-determination. The growth of Parliamentary business has removed all reasonable measures of decentralisation from the region of academic argument to that of practical necessity. And, though to many Englishmen Catholicism (as the term is generally understood outside the Anglican communion) appears foolishness and the Pope a stumbling-block, the association of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin races in the recent conflict with the countrymen of Luther has by a little weakened belief both in the exclusive virtue of Protestant civilisations and in the sound sense of the old jingle about Home Rule and Rome rule. Thus one way and another it has come about that the Irish now govern themselves—not, as it would appear, altogether incompetently, nor altogether to their own

satisfaction, nor yet altogether to the regret of their English neighbours.

But the bold ventures in politics that are possible to a generation which has passed through a furnace of fire, grown callous of crime and violence and emerged with no other desire than to make all things new, were not possible or conceivable in the static world of the eightennineties, shocked beyond measure by Fenian outrages and Irish Land Leagues. All or almost all the *virī pietate graves* of the time declared against Home Rule. Gladstone, indeed, hurrying his last labours as his sun began to set, showed vision, but a vision greatly confused. The juxtaposition of his two Home Rule Bills is alone fatal, as any one may see at a glance, to his credit. He adopted opposing principles in turn and exchanged the better for the worse. He began by excluding Irish members from the Parliament at Westminster and ended by putting them into it. The worst that could be said of their absence was that it left Ireland with no more part nor lot than the colonies in the decision of Imperial issues. But their presence was a permanent menace to the fair working of English Parties. Criticism had every excuse for riddling, as in fact it did riddle, these two versions of Home Rule, the one so ill-timed, the other so ill-conceived. The alternative—the only real alternative—was 'twenty years of resolute Government.'

It was as the embodiment of this idea that, in the May of 1887 when he became Irish Secretary, Mr Balfour found the sense of the country ranged behind those native sentiments and convictions of his of which stock has been already taken. The principles of his policy were simple in the extreme. It was calculated to run upon the two wheels of order and reform. The only question was whether, in this particular case, the vehicle they supported must be classified, according to the hopes of its occupants, as a governess-cart or, according to those of its critics, as nothing better than an Irish jaunting-car.

The principle of order was exemplified in a Crimes Act which exceeded all its predecessors in severity by setting no limit of time to that abrogation of the ordinary safeguards of the subject provided by trial by jury. The principle of reform, on the other hand, was apparent in such a scheme for the revision of rents as

had been demanded by Parnell, in the grant of liberal credits for Land-purchase and in a Light Railways Act with all its pregnant possibilities of commercial development. But it was less the features of Mr Balfour's policy than his defence of it that impressed his contemporaries. In the day-to-day conflict at Westminster he was a model of calm purpose, of inflexible decision, of unruffled temper. Matched with two of the greatest parliamentarians of the century he could stand his ground with either. Neither the hot hurricanes of Gladstone's eloquence nor the biting blasts of Parnell's cold style found him at a loss. Oratory was not required to defend what had rather the qualities of a case than a cause; and he was a perfect debater.

Would he, we may reasonably wonder, have been able in the long run to get the better of Parnell—of Parnell, that is, as he might have been, in all his public strength and without his private weakness, of Parnell without any other purpose than the triumph of Home Rule? And, in the interest of the game of politics as well as of the claims of ethics, we may wish that Mrs O'Shea had never intervened to stop the duel. Both combatants possessed to a remarkable degree the quality of detachment, though in the Irishman it was bound up with a narrow ignorance and in the Scotsman with wide-reaching knowledge. But whether concentrated bitterness or philosophic breadth possess the greater driving force in the world we live in, a man might well hesitate to say.✧

Let that speculation, however, pass unscrutinised, for another point immediately claims our attention. It was the peculiar if melancholy fortune of Mr Balfour's career that Fate struck down untimely both the contemporary who would have been his most formidable adversary and the contemporary who would have been his most formidable rival. Parnell, if he had not fallen, might have marred an Irish policy which had, as we can see now, no finality in it, at a date that would have been disastrous to its framer's credit. And Randolph Churchill, if he had not failed, must have rested ill-content to see the leadership in the Commons pass into the hands of an associate who had seemed to him but a languid dilettante. As it was Fortune brushed not only these

but every obstacle from her favourite's path. W. H. Smith, whose amiable and respected personality remains green, rather by virtue of reproductions of 'Pinafore' and purchases at railway book-stalls than by any exploits of his own as Leader of the Lower House, opportunely died; Goschen and Hicks-Beach, with their longer claims of service, stood aside; and thus the way lay clear for the most brilliant man in the party to take his place at its head in the House of Commons, whilst he was still in the prime of life. In half a dozen years, and on the strength of talent manifested in a single Parliament, Mr Balfour had exchanged the easy slopes and pleasant playgrounds at the foot of the parliamentary mountain for the high responsibilities and precipitous places at its summit. At forty-three he was First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House. In 'Punch's' contemporary cartoon 'Pam' and 'Dizzy' are depicted as looking on in astonishment; not with so much grace nor with so little effort had they climbed to power. Scotsmen, it is true, sometimes arrive at their destination with a facility that Englishmen have 'the hard hap' not to possess. We praise their energy and take note of their nationality. But in this case the general law by virtue of which Scotsmen reach their right, if not always precisely their rightful places, appears to be totally inapplicable. For here was a Scotsman whose interests would have carried him to a chair of metaphysics, but whom accident had impelled into the second seat in the Cabinet.

An Englishman, in fact, had, as he has himself pretty plainly admitted, diverted his destiny; and that Englishman was his uncle. Although for a parallel to such an association of near relatives in the first places of the State we should have to look back to the days of the Pelhams or the Grenvilles, Salisbury's selection of his nephew as his lieutenant was followed by no charge of nepotism. Mr Balfour's personal tact not less than his political talent placed the appointment beyond reproach; nor did the 'Hotel Cecil' at that time exist for the wits to get to work upon. Thus, without adverse comment, was that partnership formed which ten years later, with Liberal-Unionist support, was to provide a foundation for one of the most powerful Governments of modern

times. The constitutional historian may probably take occasion to observe that it provided something more—the last successful attempt of a Prime Minister to lead a government from a seat in the House of Lords; and the biographer may be tempted to point out that not the least of Mr Balfour's services to the State was his filial devotion to one whose Administration was thus preserved from such domestic discords as have characterised too many Cabinets of recent times—Lord Rosebery's, Mr Asquith's, Mr Lloyd George's, to say nothing of his own.

The sands of the Conservative Government of 1886 were fast running out when Mr Balfour succeeded Mr W. H. Smith; and in 1892, and for the last time, Gladstone returned to power. The old man's whole interest and energy were now concentrated upon a hopeless effort to carry a new Home Rule Bill, and he fought for its clauses with all his ancient strength. The cause of Irish nationality was so much the more difficult to champion that, since the death of Parnell, the Church that had overthrown him who was himself a Protestant, had become identified more closely with the Nationalist movement. The temperamental differences of race were now still more increased by the confessional disagreements of religion. The interference of the priests in politics, which had first been invoked by Castlereagh in order to carry the Union,* was now cited as an argument by Castlereagh's political descendants to prevent its disruption. Ulster became in English eyes more than ever the symbol of liberty in a land of obscurantism, and the cause of the Orangemen reminiscent of the revolution of 1688.

Into the rights and wrongs of this politico-religious medley we have no occasion to enter here, but its intensity can be imagined from the much-criticised speech Mr Balfour delivered in Belfast in the spring of 1893—a speech which can be studied either from the political or the personal point of view and be found equally significant. In the crucial sentence he observed that, if tyranny and stupidity reached a certain point, he had not come there to advocate non-resistance. Taxed in the House of Commons with this alarming attack upon constitutional government, he acknowledged that his doctrine was not suitable for every time and place. Yet

* Lecky, 'History of Ireland,' c. xlii (Cabinet edit. v, p. 328).

it needs no Socrates to ask, though perhaps a Solomon to answer, why the doctrine in question should be localised in Belfast but not in Cork, and hold good for Orangemen yet not for their opponents. Such drastic action, however, as he had suggested was rendered unnecessary by the loss of the Home Rule Bill in the Lords and the confirmation in due course of their Lordships' action in the country. For close upon two decades the cause of Irish Nationalism slept uneasily. Then, as we shall see, in an unwelcome hour, it rose again and was revenged upon its foremost opponent.

To those who find politics a desert of dry bones, even an oasis of metaphysics should prove refreshing. Such a halting-place appears on the track of Lord Balfour's career in the year 1895, as it did once before in 1879; and at this point we may appropriately pause to enjoy its amenities. 'Foundations of Belief' had been the explanatory sub-title of 'A Defence of Philosophic Doubt,' and in the new treatise, which amplifies and simplifies the argument, the name stands first upon the title-page.

The aim of the book was as the author emphasises to recommend a particular way of looking at world-problems. Though its interest is theological, its starting point is terrestrial. The movement is not from high dogmas about God nor yet from alleged laws of nature to authoritative conclusions resting upon these sanctions, but from man's present standpoint in ethics, in æsthetics, and in thought towards its latent implications—or, if we like it better, from our feelings about the good, the beautiful, and the true towards, as eventually appears, their rational seat in Theism. The argument is primarily directed against the dominant philosophy of the day—not against science, properly so called, but against the construction put upon it. Naturalism—there, for this subtle disputant, was the enemy; and he pursues it into its dark recesses not less vigorously than Alcides Cacus. In all the literature of that time there is perhaps no more caustic page than the description of those shallow souls who profess Naturalism and prey all the while upon Supernaturalism.

'Naturalism—so runs the argument—co-exists in the case of Messrs A., B., C., etc., with the most admirable exhibition of unselfish virtue. If this be so in the case of a

hundred individuals, why not in the case of ten thousand? If in the case of ten thousand, why not in the case of humanity at large? Now as to the facts on which this reasoning proceeds I raise no objection. I desire neither to ignore the existence nor to minimise the merits of these shining examples of virtue unsupported by religion. But, though the facts be true, the reasoning based on them will not bear close examination. Biologists tell us of parasites which live, and can only live, within bodies of animals more highly organised than they. For them their luckless host has to find food, to digest it, and to convert it into nourishment which they can consume without exertion and assimilate without difficulty. Their structure is of the simplest kind. Their host sees for them, so they need no eyes; he hears for them, so they need no ears; he works for them and contrives for them, so they need but feeble muscles and an undeveloped nervous system. But are we to conclude from this that for the animal kingdom eyes and ears, powerful limbs, and complex nerves are superfluities? They are superfluities for the parasite only because they have first been necessities for the host, and when the host perishes, the parasite, in their absence, is not unlikely to perish also.

'So it is with those persons who claim to show by their example that naturalism is practically consistent with the maintenance of ethical ideals with which naturalism has no natural affinity. Their spiritual life is parasitic: it is sheltered by convictions which belong, not to them, but to the society of which they form a part; it is nourished by processes in which they take no share. And when those convictions decay and those processes come to an end, the alien life which they have maintained can scarce be expected to outlast them.'*

The difficulty, in a word, of justifying, on any principles of natural selection with its recommendation of selfishness in conduct, of determinism in thought, and of matter as the ultimate reality, such feelings as most of us experience when a character chances to reveal the subtle beauty of holiness, when art in one or other of its forms unveils its visions, or when the complexity of our intellectual apparatus, at once so speculatively ambitious and so organically restricted, is really appreciated, gives us pause.

From these prolegomena, during the development of

* 'Foundations of Belief,' pp. 87, 88.

which the unlucky Spencer, after a lifetime wherein all that was not claimed by hygiene had been consecrated to erudition, is considerably assisted in his natural evolution from a pundit of philosophy into a figure of fun, the argument proceeds along the same line of metaphysics already explored in the *Defence of Philosophic Doubt*. The effect of the conflict of evidence between the data furnished by sense-perception and the scientific conclusions derived from them is brilliantly resumed and effectively driven home:

'We must not only say that the experiences on which science is founded have been invariably misinterpreted by those who underwent them but that, if they had not been so misinterpreted, science as we know it would never have existed. We have not merely stumbled on the truth in spite of error and illusion which is odd, but because of error and illusion which is odder.'*

General experience—to go over the ground again—has to be proved from individual experience, and individual experience has to rely in the case of the all-important law of causation, upon what? Upon the selection from a mass of apparently irregular and random phenomena of some few that can be bent by the mind, under the influence of a theory, into the semblance of causes and effects, and the attribution to our own error and ignorance of the fact that the vast residue remain unrelated. The certitude that we enjoy—if we do enjoy it—that the law of causation obtains in the world around us is clearly, therefore, not of a character to satisfy a rationalist. And Naturalism is accordingly stricken in a vital part.

It would be a fundamental misunderstanding to regard this insistence upon the metaphysical weakness of the scientific position as designed to discredit the use of scientific conclusions for practical purposes. Their acceptance is plainly essential to the common business of life and their neglect on sceptical or agnostic grounds would pretty certainly prove fatal to any people that attempted it. But the consequence of acceptance is an act of faith and not of knowledge—an act of faith that our memories, whatever tricks they sometimes seem to

* 'Foundations of Belief,' p. 124.

play us, do, broadly speaking, register actual experience and that our intellects, even when they contradict our sense-perceptions, and even though they afford us nothing better than vision through a darkened glass, may yet be trusted—that, in a word, all the apparatus of thought is no product of blind matter, as heedless of truth and error as of right and wrong, but of Divine Intelligence raising little by little the veil of Reality.*

If we concede so much to smooth the path of Science, why, in all reason, should we refuse it to Religion? That with the mass of men the postulates of science are more easily received is no argument for their rational acceptance.

'If certitudes of science,' our author observes in answer to Spencer, 'lose themselves in depths of unfathomable mystery it may well be that out of those same depths there should emerge the certitudes of religion; . . . if the dependence of the "knowable" upon the "unknowable" embarrasses us not in the one case, no reason can be assigned why it should embarrass us in the other.'†

In reference to the great debate between the protagonists of the one and the other we may start at least with even balances and a clean slate. Give Theism as fair a chance as Naturalism—here is the heart of the argument—and it will give a better account of itself. Not merely will it save us from the fear that Science itself may be an illusion, but it will meet and satisfy the claims of our rational, our ethical, and our æsthetic powers. And, by bringing 'to the study of the world the presuppositions that it was the work of a rational Being who made it intelligible and at the same time made us, in however feeble a manner, able to understand it,' it will deliver us from the singular presumption of relying upon faculties designed in the first instance to 'kill with success and marry in security' for the unravelling of the riddle of the Universe.

We reach in this manner the threshold of Theology;

* 'Foundations of Belief,' pp. 288-289. 'I do not believe that any escape from these perplexities is possible, unless we are prepared to bring to the study of the world the pre-supposition that it was the work of a rational Being, who made it intelligible and at the same time made us, in however feeble a fashion, able to understand it.'

† 'Foundations of Belief,' p. 276.

and once and again the philosopher allows his foot to cross it. There are digressions upon prayer, upon miracles and upon pain, and, just at the close of the work, the cold caverns of metaphysic are touched with sunlight as the doctrine of the Incarnation rises for an instant into view. It is not, however, these passages which will arrest the eye of the critic, so much as that where the writer accords to reverence for authority, rather than to reason, the character of the specifically 'humanising' virtue. Here are his actual words, deliberate, considered, the last of their chapter:

'Though it may seem to savour of paradox it is yet no exaggeration to say that, if we would find the quality in which we most notably excel the brute creation, we should look for it, not so much in our faculty of convincing and being convinced by the exercise of reasoning as in our capacity for influencing and being influenced through the action of authority.'*

For the source of such an opinion one might hazard the name of Joseph de Maistre, but which of us would ever think of advancing that of Lord Balfour? Just, however, as the argument seems about to emerge from its sceptical profundities and afford us in conclusion some constructive outline of dogmatic thought, the curtain falls with a few curiously destructive warnings. Language, we are assured, is not the penetrating instrument that Logic would make of it; the more valuable definitions of Church Councils are precisely those which have the least perspicuity; the best friends of Theology are 'kindly forgetfulness' and 'happy inconsistencies.'† Here, as in his criticism of theories of Beauty‡—so ably examined by Mr John Bailey in 'A Question of Taste'—there is apparent a curious disbelief in absolute standards. In the discussion of such issues, however, a disciple of More and Erasmus can scarcely hope to feel himself at ease in the company of those who dwell among the tents of Knox and Calvin. Not with the less satisfaction need he reflect that, though Huxley might affirm his continually falling estimate of Mr Balfour as a thinker

* 'Foundations of Belief,' p. 243.

† Ibid, pp. 365, 377-378, 360.

‡ Romanes Lecture, 1909, and again in 'Theism and Humanism.'

and commend to the help of God those who took 'Foundations of Belief' for an important contribution to thought,* and though Leslie Stephen might make light of metaphysical difficulties that his own philosophy does not appear to resolve, yet the side of the angels had been handsomely sustained against its critics by the use of an argument which has by now withstood the slings and arrows of thirty years and more.

† There are political as well as ecclesiastical consequences incidental to a belief that reverence for authority is the distinctive feature of man. The passage just quoted may be read as the confession of faith of a good Conservative and as such serve to recall us to the world of politics. It was in 1895 that Salisbury formed the most powerful administration that England had seen since the days of Peel, if not of Pitt. Effectively disproving the rash contention of Disraeli that England does not love coalitions, the Unionist Government of 1895 fought two wars and won them, raised British credit to a point that now seems fabulous, took the occasion of Victoria's second Jubilee to associate in a common splendour the idea of Empire and the dynasty of the Empress-Queen, and, having run its course, was returned a second time to power.

The constructive genius of the Administration was unquestionably imperial, and History will lay stress upon the fact that during its continuance Disraeli's grandiose but cloudy visions were brought to earth and shaped anew by the practical imagination of Joseph Chamberlain. Yet we do less than justice to the Empire-builders of the time if we fail to notice that the driving energy of the Colonial Secretary was shielded on either side—abroad by the dextrous non-committal diplomacy of Salisbury, at home by the penetrating brilliancy of Mr Balfour in debate.

Sometimes a little hesitating both in treatment and manner when it fell to him to open the discussion, the First Lord of the Treasury was rarely if ever at a loss when he had to reply. A familiar, if fabulous, story crystallises the impression of his readiness. Political gossips declare that, required on a sudden to take part in a debate, he proved so ill-acquainted with his Party's

* Huxley's 'Life and Letters,' p. 400.

commitments as to begin arguing against their case. Somebody on the Treasury Bench eventually perceived what was the matter and whispered a warning. Immediately he turned to the House again and observed, 'These are the arguments which we shall doubtless hear from honourable members opposite.' Then without hesitation he proceeded to demolish them.

He was not, perhaps, a great Parliamentarian in the sense of Gladstone and Disraeli. He had a smaller capacity for enduring bores, a larger demand upon his leisure, perhaps a lesser interest in Parliament as such. Criticism was of course not silent. His new rules of procedure, wisely framed to raise the quality as well as to restrict the quantity of discussion upon Supply, involved some further use of the closure unacceptable to those who stood in the ancient paths; whilst one who had pushed his own way so little was not perhaps best equipped to understand the feelings of young Conservatives endowed with half his talents and ten times his ambition. Nor was he always happy in his relation with the country outside the pale of Parliament. An example of this which was much commented upon at the time, occurred during the darkest hours of the South African War. In the spirit of the old chivalry he seemed to take disaster lightly, and the new democracy did not understand it. Yet in point of fact, if his words seemed inadequate, his action was all promptitude and efficiency, and, when Salisbury retired at the close of hostilities, his claim to the Premiership was uncontested, though Devonshire's counsels lacked nothing in weight nor Chamberlain's in energy.

There is no surer key to the psychology of this part of his career than the fact that he depended upon a majority which Salisbury had secured. He felt himself the trustee rather than the master of his inheritance, and he inevitably tended to display the characteristics of a regent rather than of a ruler in his own right. At the date of his succession the ascendancy of the Conservatives had passed its meridian-hour. Momentous decisions were, indeed, taken in the years between 1901 and 1906. At home an Education Act which represents, perhaps, his own most considerable legislative achievement and which, whatever else may be said of it, has

at any rate stood the test of time, was passed amid a storm of controversy whose din would all be dead but for the delicate ridicule of his observations upon Dr Clifford preserved in 'A Letter to a Correspondent.'* Abroad the entente with France was cemented, a war with Russia averted, and the alliance with Japan confirmed. Yet it was in those years precisely that he seemed even to his friends to do himself least justice; and in the constituencies there were ominous complaints that, as the day of battle drew nearer, the trumpet gave an uncertain sound. Of his own difficulties and his Party's discontents Chamberlain's declaration in favour of protection was the principal source.

The Tariff-Reform policy which the Colonial Secretary pressed upon the country with all his failing strength, seemed to reflect both the mercantile past and the ministerial present of that powerful personality. In his presentation of the argument for retaliatory duties there was perhaps something to be perceived of the limited outlook of the manufacturer, and in his selection of colonial preference rather than national defence as the bond of imperial unity, something of the departmental ambition engendered by his actual office. It was in any case plainly impossible that the subtle and academic mind of the Prime Minister should envisage either the industrial or the imperial problem with the same vigorous simplicity as his colleague. A little brochure which he published under the title of 'Economic Notes on Insular Free-Trade' discovered both the qualifications with which he accepted the ideas of Chamberlain, and his sense of the complex and essentially empirical nature of the subject. It is difficult to suppose that, left to himself, Mr Balfour would ever have exalted tariff-reform to the summit of a programme or recommended it to the constituencies as a principle. Given a society where catchwords swayed the polling and cheapness was a commandment, retaliatory duties would have been most wisely dealt with without noise of words, under expert advice, and in the recess of a budget; while his own genius in initiating the Committee of Imperial Defence had already indicated a more excellent way for Imperial Federation than Chamberlain had conceived.

* 'Essays and Addresses,' p. 415.

Events were to vindicate the wisdom of his judgment times and again. The Tariff-Reform Policy whenever submitted to the constituencies—by Chamberlain or without Chamberlain or upon a sudden wild impulse of Mr Baldwin's—has never failed to bring disaster to its advocates; whilst, on the other hand, statesmen of all parties under the pressure of circumstances have quietly consented to the safeguarding of certain approved industries against inconvenient competition. As for the imperial side of the affair the Great War made it more than plain that no food-taxes were needed to consolidate the loyalty of the Colonies to the Mother-country. These infallible tests were not, however, available in the years when the world was forming its opinion of Mr Balfour as a Prime Minister. His followers for the most part wanted what is called 'a strong lead'; and it was precisely this that Chamberlain's precipitancy made it impossible for him to give them. Outside observers perceived this more easily than professional politicians.

'Mr Balfour,' observed one distinguished critic in the 'Nineteenth Century,' 'with sure instinct noted at the outset that Mr Chamberlain's views had not attained that practical precision which could either evoke an echo or call for an unequivocal disclaimer in a really accurate mind.'*

Whosoever the fault, the penalty was certain. The Cabinet crumbled first. Chamberlain signified his intention of resigning office so as to acquire complete independence in the conduct of his new campaign, and, before this intention had become the property of his colleagues, George Hamilton, Balfour of Burleigh, and Ritchie took their leave by the opposite door. The Prime Minister made little effort to stop them—less certainly than they expected and less perhaps than they had a right to expect. With them would have gone Devonshire also, but him, by an intimation of Chamberlain's approaching withdrawal, the Prime Minister was for a time, though only for a time, able to retain. In the Commons the Ministerial Bench was weakened; and, in the latter days of that doomed Administration, Mr Balfour, to the anxiety of those who knew how little time

* 'Nineteenth Century,' June 1905.

was left him for larger counsels, bore much more than his proper share of the burden of debate. Then, as the Election drew on, the Party itself began to crumble and, for all its Leader's endeavours to keep it together, the fissure of the tariff ran from end to end. And finally, when the polls were declared, it was apparent that Conservative sentiment itself had crumbled and the sense of the country gone over to the enemy. But few of the members of the once-powerful Unionist Coalition were returned to Westminster and among the few Mr Balfour was not included. East Manchester after long years had proved unfaithful to him; and it was in these circumstances that a seat was found for him in the City of London.

As once his good fortune had seemed singular, so now his ill-luck appeared exceptional. To the mill-stone of tariff-reform that had been tied about his Party's neck, the year 1909 added those of Mr Lloyd George's Budget and the too-long neglected question of the House of Lords. The Peers, considering what burdens the country has since accepted, might have been better advised to shoulder without resistance taxation that now seems mild and moderate. As things turned out, their action lost them their powers as well as their money. In the next year they were constrained to submit to the Parliament Act. It was after this drastic change in the Constitution that Mr Balfour resigned leadership; and they may perhaps guess wisely who associate his resignation with the Lords' surrender.

Be that as it may, there will probably be little dispute that some passing failure of power was apparent in his last political campaign. This was noticeable both within and without the House of Commons. His characterisation, in view of the approaching Election of 1910, of one of those statements that politicians make and plain men discount as 'a frigid and calculated lie' went beyond the sense of the country; nor did his subsequent defence in Parliament of this unparliamentary language appear adequate even to some who most agreed with him in deprecating Mr Ure's political methods. But, besides this, close observers may recall how incautiously, in his presentation of the case against the Parliament Bill, he relied upon a memory, not always as powerful as his

mind; how he argued that the Reform Bill of 1832 had been the subject of three elections, when in fact there had been but one; and how the expert and judicious parliamentarian to whom he was opposed was consequently presented with the best of the argument from comparison.*

A quarter of a century of unbroken responsibility—of actual office or its equivalent in the cares of party-leadership—had brought him in 1911 to the point at which he could tell his constituents that the time had come for him to lay down his charge. He was, as he said, sixty-four, and he feared the loss of elasticity and freshness that are desirable in the conduct of great affairs. He might have added with truth that he had fought a good fight; yet he would have been gravely mistaken if he had gone on to claim that he had finished his course.

X It has been said of Newman that, had he died at sixty, the world would have reckoned him a man once indeed of much mark and power, but in the long issue of events more or less of a failure. The peculiar nature of his genius, the unique character of his career became apparent to his countrymen only after he had passed the sixties. So it was also with Lord Balfour. The brilliant promise of the morning of his days had been clouded by the storms of the afternoon, and the expectation of the evening seemed to be one rather of calm than glory. He tells us himself that he never contemplated the possibility of returning to the front line of politicians.† And History had, as we may guess, taken up her pen to write him down a man of much talent both intellectually and administratively, as an Irish Secretary most successful, as a debater most brilliant, yet as Prime Minister and Leader of his Party somehow a little disappointing. For a moment he stood in some peril of the deadly '*capax imperii nisi imperasset*' of the critic. Just at this anxious juncture for his reputation the Great War of 1914 broke out; and Fortune turned again her incalculable wheel. In 1915 we find him back in office, and responsible for the conduct of the oldest and greatest of our fighting departments; in 1916 it is hardly

* The debate referred to occurred on Aug. 7, 1911 (Hansard, xxix, 814).

† 'Opinions and Argument,' p. 25.

too much to say that he unmakes one Government and makes another; in 1917 we find him at the Foreign Office, issuing a remarkable, if contentious declaration in favour of Zionism, and undertaking a momentous diplomatic mission to the United States; in 1918 he attends as Foreign Secretary the greatest of Peace-Conferences and signs the most extensive of treaties; in 1921 he negotiates at Washington a disarmament treaty of world-wide, and perhaps age-long, consequence; in 1922 he saves Austria from bankruptcy by his eloquence at Geneva; and, finally, in the same post-war period, he brings into being the invaluable and much-needed Committee of Civil Research whose end is to probe and co-ordinate scientific problems bearing upon imperial affairs. This would be a staggering record of activity in a man of thirty-five; what are we to say of it in a man verging upon seventy when it commences and well past seventy when it closes?

Each of the matters alluded to invites a monograph; a biographical study can do no more than touch upon some of them in passing.

That Mr Balfour made a competent head of the Admiralty will not probably be called in question either among sailors or civilians, though not every sailor, perhaps, would concur in the opinion—given me at the time by one in an excellent position to judge—that in the administrative work of the Department all the valuable ideas originated with the First Lord and not with his naval advisers. If his answers in Parliament seemed to some critics to lack the fullness and familiarity that come of lively interest in detail, his pitiless dissection of Mr Churchill's proposal to reinstate Lord Fisher as First Sea Lord is one of the great classics of 20th-century debate.* One characteristic decision, however, illustrated his old inability to get into touch with the public and laid him open to criticism—the publication without explanatory comment of a detailed report of the Battle of Jutland. The man-in-the-street could not be expected to read it rightly; nor did he do so. A short communiqué, on the other hand, from the Admiralty, stating that there had been a naval action off Jutland, that the German Fleet had been driven back to port, and that full details would be

* March 8, 1916.

published in due course, would have saved the country some of the worst hours of the War.

As Foreign Secretary Lord Balfour's reputation is less well-assured, and that in the main for a reason which opens difficult issues. He had held the Admiralty under the all-too-constitutional administration of Mr Asquith; he went to the Foreign Office under the all-too-arbitrary administration of Mr Lloyd George; and, as he had approved the change of government, so he was obliged also to accept its consequences.

At the Cabinet crisis of December 1916 Mr Balfour's action, though not conspicuous, was in fact decisive. It is as certain as such things can be that neither could Mr Asquith have been permanently dethroned nor Mr Lloyd George effectually installed, unless he had countenanced the downfall of the one and consented to serve in the Cabinet of the other. It weighed of necessity with thoughtful men that he—the only ex-Premier in politics, since Lord Rosebery had long withdrawn from the arena—should have supported so extraordinary a change as the substitution in that hour of peril of a smart and pugnacious solicitor of rather imperfect education for the eloquent, profoundly cultivated, and singularly dispassionate barrister who had guided the counsels of his country for the last eight critical years. But his support did even more than this for Mr Lloyd George. It bridged the yawning gulf between the new Prime Minister's past and that potent world of heredity and fashion—'*ce beau monde qui gouverne le monde*'—at which in earlier days this one-time Cleon, now excogitating his Sphacteria, had cast stones. No one but Mr Balfour could have played the part of liaison-officer here; and Mr Lloyd George is thought to have been aware of it. Whatever other colleagues the new Prime Minister parted with, and whether or not, as some not always ill-informed people supposed, he had desired to have Mr Balfour retired during the late coalition-ministry, he resolved to separate from Mr Balfour no more. And Mr Balfour on his side could hardly with credit have unmade or deserted one in whose elevation to the first place in the Government he had seemed, if possible, to find a more confident assurance of victory than even in the vaunted tenacity

of the British people. There existed thus from the first ties between the two men of considerable strength; and these ties were tightened as well by a certain temperamental attraction of opposites as by the fact that the elder statesman had every reason to feel spent and seek freedom from responsibility whilst the energy of the younger appeared to be practically inexhaustible. Their association, nevertheless, remains extraordinary; and has its incidental curiosities. One who chanced to be alone with them on the morning of the Armistice has told me with 'what surprise he noted that it was the Foreign Secretary who seemed full of boyish glee, the Prime Minister who was grave and preoccupied. Another has recorded how on the day after the Armistice, when all the representative men of the nation were gathered together at the Guildhall with the Prime Minister in their midst, the Archbishop of Canterbury turned to Mr Balfour and asked him what he would have said ten years earlier if he had seen Mr Lloyd George thus magnificently acclaimed. The answer returned is illuminating. 'I know it would have been thought incredible, but the little beggar deserves it all.'* Certainly the little man had brought off the victory against all the expectation of such as put their trust in a liberal education. Only, as the historian probes the business to its foundations and considers for how long after Mr Lloyd George's premiership began the Allies did little but mark time† and for how much less of a setback than the disasters of March 1918 Mr Asquith fell, he may be tempted to ask himself whether after all the first and greatest of all the arts of government in the 20th century is not the successful handling of the Press.

There was no department of state upon which the institution of a dictator so quickly re-acted as that allotted to Mr Balfour in Mr Lloyd George's Administration. Foreign affairs, in fact, encourage the confidence of the amateur to nearly the same extent as theology. The Foreign Office was elbowed out of the more important of its functions by the Prime Minister's special

* Fitzgerald, 'Herbert Edward Ryle,' p. 305.

† Lord Oxford's remark in his posthumous 'Memories and Reflections' (II, p. 151) that 'The year 1917 was . . . the worst in the whole War' appears apposite.

secretariat; and in the concluding phase of the War and throughout the negotiation of the Peace, the Foreign Secretary appeared as a secondary personage. 'The British Prime Minister,' so the History of the Peace Conference epitomises the matter, 'assumed absolute control of British policy, Mr Balfour acting for him in his absence but remaining completely subordinate during the greater part of the time.'*

This was distasteful enough to those who knew sufficient history to recall the part that Castlereagh had played at Vienna, or Clarendon in Paris, or Salisbury at Berlin; but it was much more distasteful to them when they compared the character and abilities of Mr Balfour with the character and abilities of Mr George. They could not doubt that Mr Balfour was dispassionate and a statesman; they were less and less able to persuade themselves that Mr George was either the one thing or the other. That in the counsels of Europe, at the greatest of all historic assemblies, the seat of international sovereignty should be concentrated in a board of Four of which Mr George was a member and Mr Balfour was not, appeared an intolerable blunder; and they knew not which to blame the more—Mr Balfour's self-effacement or Mr George's self-sufficiency. If the Foreign Secretary might have pleaded some seventy reasons in the category of time for his acceptance of a subordinate part in the re-settlement of Europe, his admirers could have adduced at least seventy-times-seven in the category of place why he should have refused it. For topography was not a subject with which the Prime Minister happened to be familiar.

To what a pass things eventually came under this division of labour has but lately been revealed by the publication of Sir Henry Wilson's Diaries. He discloses the fact that on the eve of the presentation of the Peace Treaty to the Germans no complete copy of it was obtainable;† that the terms had never been reviewed in their entirety by any British representative; and that beneath such a piece of patchwork—pall and swaddling-bands in turn—the Old Europe was buried and the New Europe brought to birth. The General

* 'History of the Peace Conference.' Edited H. W. Temperley, I, p. 245.

† Callwell, 'Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson,' II, p. 189.

liberates his soul with his accustomed energy and bitterly complains of the light-hearted manner in which Mr Balfour joked with ladies about the business. It is a good rule, however, not to play the recording angel in the drawing-room; and in any case, after the country had so lately approved the conduct of its foreign affairs by a quick-change artist, it showed a wise urbanity in the Foreign Secretary, since he had submitted to the plan, to enjoy at least its humours.

There is another angle from which Mr Balfour's Foreign Secretariat may be regarded; and it is one from which a very different impression may be drawn. 'I have now lived a long life,' he wrote to Mr Page in 1918, 'and most of my energies have been expended in political work, but if I have been fortunate enough to contribute, even in the smallest degree, to drawing closer the bonds that unite our two countries, I shall have done something compared with which all else that I may have attempted counts in my eyes as nothing.'* He obtained his ambition, and on this account, if upon no other, his career as Foreign Secretary will seem great. The success of his mission to the States in 1917 had been worthy of the high courage that inspired him, in his seventieth year and in the teeth of the German submarine campaign, to cross the Atlantic; and the relations between the two countries had never perhaps been better than at the close of his visit. It was common knowledge that the Americans had been deeply impressed by the presence and conversation of one who was not as other politicians are; and this impression of his personality extended to the official head of the State. The President and the British Foreign Secretary 'got on tremendously,' † Wilson taking the unprecedented course of sitting in the gallery when Mr Balfour gave his address to Congress.

There are some things one would rather not think about in politics as in other affairs of life; and one of them is what the association of these two men as principals at the peace-making in Paris might have done for the good of mankind. The American had the genius of great principles and a real eloquence in recommending them; the Briton great experience, critical subtlety, and a dis-

* 'Life and Letters of W. H. Page,' II, p. 250.

† Ibid, p. 264.

tion of mind and character that went beyond either. It is hard to suppose that if the leaders of the Anglo-Saxon peoples had worked in sympathy the world would have seen a treaty scarred by a Welshman's election pledges, by a Frenchman's vengeance, by an Italian's ambition, by wild-cat notions of trying the Kaiser, by the aggrandisement here of one race, there of another, at the expense of the liberties and loyalties of their neighbours. Some settlement, however, is better than none; and we may believe, if we like, that Mr Lloyd George did his best without supposing for a moment that it was the best that could be done. X

Among the obstacles that stood in the way of a rapprochement between England and the United States there was none upon which the American Ambassador had laid more stress in talking to Mr Balfour than the Irish Question. It may have been his observations or it may have been Mr Lloyd George's persuasiveness that produced the one signal volte-face in Mr Balfour's career. The ironies of political history lacked something still before Mr Balfour became the member of a government responsible for a Home Rule Bill. Certainly Ulster was excluded from its operation; but what shall be said of the fate of the Irish minority in the other three provinces to whom in 1893* he had given the assurance that they could count with confidence upon the honour of the British people never to desert them? Just perhaps that circumstance is inexorable, for nothing less than inexorable circumstance could ever have made Lord Balfour desert his friends.

To his instinctive constancy, other things being equal, even to a coalition party and a casual chief, the next year (1922) was to bear witness. At the Carlton Club meeting which was to effect the fall of Mr Lloyd George's Government he came forward to recommend the now more or less discredited Prime Minister to the suffrages of his friends; and this not a little to the scandal of those who reflected that peers were, as a class, excluded from the company and that he had lately become a member of the House of Lords. His arguments met with no success; and he followed the singular being whose fortunes had become in so strange a manner entangled

* Speech, May 7, 1893.

with his own, into a temporary retirement. It was a happy, even a fortunate interlude. In the course of it he was able to complete the delivery of the Gifford lectures which he had first begun in 1915. They illustrate, like his membership of the Metaphysical Society and that penetrating criticism of his friend Bergson's philosophy of creative evolution which he published a few years before, his abiding interest in problems to which the problems of politics are as simple arithmetic is to tensor analysis, and they amplify his abiding faith that all sound speculation opens up the vision of God. The argument for Theism is, however, rather an embellishment of than an advance upon his earlier metaphysical position, and perhaps something the poorer for having appeared just before the repercussion in theology of the new theory of relativity was appreciated. The philosophy of Humanism, as a recent expositor of that theory has argued,* stands to gain considerably in its contest with crude science by the admission that the individual man, for all his apparent significance beside his vast surroundings, possesses his special place in the Universe scientifically considered—a plane of reference peculiarly his own and to which whole aspect of the Universe is particularly related.

Let all that be, however, as it may. These last excursions into philosophy had at least the effect of wiping the dust of party discord off the statesman's figure. He returned to power indeed, but ennobled by a title greater than Garter or Earldom, though these were not wanting to his fame. As free now as a public man can hope to be from contact with the politics that exacerbate and sever, he stood out more plainly than before as the champion of those things in the philosophy of government that sweeten and give light. The office of Lord President of the Council, so long associated with public education, seemed appropriate above all the rest to one remarkable always for his even measure of faith and reason, sensitive to all that is of permanent consequence in both the Conservative and Liberal creeds, responsive alike to the peculiar excellencies of Anglo-Saxon civilisation and to the larger international hope to which, at their best, they point the way. The large

* James Rice, 'Relativity,' pp. 77-78.

wisdom of his mind was, moreover, more happily circumstanced in the post-war period than ever before. The intelligence of the country, emancipated by the War from more than one ancient shibboleth, had in a manner caught him up, whose ideas had formerly tended to forge ahead of it; and the cool, scientific detachment of his intellect was more generally understood and appreciated. Thus it has even been maintained by one close observer of his life and writings that no British Prime Minister has left us so large a store of political wisdom and that, if the structure of society were to-morrow destroyed, it might be successfully built again out of his profound if advisedly unsystematic legacy of observations. Be that as it may, we can at least feel morally certain that of all the living men of our time and country there will be no other that Posterity will more greatly desire to have known and spoken with. For none, as Mrs Dugdale's excellent selection from his speeches makes plain, has shown his contemporaries more suggestively—both by precept and practice—how rich in interest life can be made in all its range from the golf-course to the senate-house; none has taught them more subtly how all true politics depend upon a serene assimilation and acceptance of real knowledge; none—to pass to deeper issues—has analysed for them more closely the rainbow-endings of the mind, nor, perhaps, has any lately raised a bridge to heaven of more prismatic hues. So gracious a philosophy, framed in the eager zest of early manhood, seems calculated still to serve the searching vision of maturer age as we approach the fast falling rampart of the world, and all the hidden promise of strange sound and unseen colour and of greater things than these can ever be beckons us towards 'the last curiosity.'

'Quinctus! Quinctus,' cries Landor's Cicero in the Imaginary Conversation, 'Let us exult with joy: there is no enemy to be appeased or avoided. We are moving forward and without exertion, thither where we shall know all we wish to know; and how greatly more than, whether in Tusculum or in Formiæ, in Rome or in Athens, we could ever hope to learn!'

ALGERNON CECIL.

SOME RECENT BOOKS.

Ants—Forest Folklore—Elizabeth and Richelieu—Mozart's Letters—Victorian and Economic Histories—The Eumorfopoulos Collection—French Criticism—Richard Rolle—Books upon Jesus—Mr Kipling's Speeches—The Gurkhas—Tasmania, Australia, and Ceylon—Fiction.

DR FOREL is an octogenarian who can prove, with some other men of plentiful years, that the aged need not be old; and the especial joy of his monumental work, '*The Social World of the Ants*' (Putnam), comes from his happy way of reflecting on the manners and practices of mankind through the wisdom gained from his observations of those mighty minutiae the ants. In the midst of his most serious study of this almost ubiquitous insect he will cast a casual stone at 'the grandiloquent false science called metaphysics,' and another at those who 'veil our present ignorance of the origin of life under stupid hypotheses in terms of *vitalism* or *mechanism*.' Moreover, he is not ashamed to confess sometimes that faced with certain contradictions of evidence he does not know. Such sincerity adds value to the authority of the enormous mass of information he has gathered, in these two handsome volumes, about the 3500 species of ants, which carry on their social life-work, in their 'anarchist-communist' systems, almost everywhere from the tropics to the polar regions; but as yet not in Iceland. At the conclusion of his vast, learned, and fascinating accumulation of detail of the widespread insect-communities of ants, he prints an Epilogue comparing their order, industry, and, one might almost say, ideals with the corresponding communities of mankind, and not, on the whole, to the advantage of man.

'Among ants we find weavers, butchers, cattle-rearers, masons, road-makers, harvesters, bakers, mushroom-farmers, excellent nurses of various kinds, gardeners, warriors, pacifists, slave-makers, thieves, brigands, and parasites; but we find no professors, orators, governors, bureaucrats, or generals, nor even corporals, nor do we find capitalists, speculators, or mere swindlers. Think carefully about that, dear reader, and it will give you the key to the mystery.'

Entertaining as is Mr Alexander Porteous's '**Forest Folklore, Mythology and Romance**' (Allen and Unwin), its haphazard method of bringing together theories, legends, incidents, and superstitions connected with the infinite world of trees, makes it less useful to folklorists than it might have been. Its scope, though packed within a handy volume, is illimitable. From the original forests on this globe, with enormous toadstools, 'patches of gigantic mosses pushing up their vast spore urns into the murky sky,' in a cimmerian gloom and an absolute silence, we pass to the forests of fable, like Broceliande, where witches, dryads, demons lurked, and fairies spun their glittering magic; and to the ancient groves of old religion, Druid and otherwise. The famous Trees of history are brought before us; from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, which was carried from Eden by Adam to provide eventually the wood of Christ's Cross, to the thorn-bush on the back of the Man in the Moon. Knowledge or legends on the subject have been culled from many volumes and with some jostling are packed here. With all this mass of information it still is possible to suggest important omissions; but possibly that would not be fair. The purpose of the author evidently has been to entertain, and in that he has succeeded.

One good effect of the Great War has been the opening up for historical investigation of the stores of valuable State documents jealously hoarded in the Imperial archives at Vienna. The result shows how new light may be shed on almost any question, and that no problem of literary or historical concern is necessarily beyond the reach of new evidence. '**In Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners**' (Lane) we discover fresh information and entertainment as to how that great woman and queen managed her negotiations with insistent ambassadors. The Emperor Ferdinand, as is well-known, was anxious to make a marriage between Elizabeth and his second son, the Archduke Charles: partly for religious reasons, as he was a bigoted Roman Catholic anxious to recapture England for the unreformed Faith; and for another reason—'However profitable the acquisition of this extremely rich Kingdom might be for the whole house of Austria,' Therefore, a procession of 'orators,' sent

by the Emperor, wooed the Queen; and the clever lady fooled them to the top of their bent. They remarked on her charm, graciousness, kindness, playfulness; but never was anything of solid concern to them written or said by her. In the end they were returned empties. The more one reads about the personality of Elizabeth the more her outstanding cleverness and splendid serviceableness to England must be recognised. To have married that Austrian fool, Charles, would surely have meant a disaster worse than that which followed the marriage of unhappy Mary with Philip of Spain; but Elizabeth was too shrewd and far-seeing to make that sort of blunder.

To comprise the history of a period within a monograph, even although it be of a superman, is bound to be entertaining rather than satisfactory; for so much circumstance must be omitted or slurred over in order that the hero shall be prominent at the centre of the stage. Such is the case with Karl Federn's monograph on 'Richelieu' (Allen and Unwin), wherein we have presented to us the picturesque figure of the Cardinal, prominent against a confused background of persons and movements, intrigues, hatreds, magnificence, and wars; excellent so far as it goes, but nothing more than an uncertain introduction to the story of a crucial epoch. And the many historical novelists, from Dumas to Stanley Weyman, with their musqueteers and wearers of the red robe, have been doing the same thing with greater robustness and glamour. Possibly no more difficult, unpleasant period could have been found than that over which Louis XIII nominally reigned. The bitterness of the 'religious' wars; the plots and intrigues of emperors, kings, and churchmen; the heavy blood-guilt and cruel ambitions of the over-licensed nobility; it was an ugly time, and Richelieu, with all his powers, determination, personal courage, and success, did less than nothing to improve it. He remains, on the whole, one of the sinister figures of the world; but it is probable that justice has never yet been done to him and never will be done.

Often a life of genius is an irony superb. It was so with Mozart. Mr M. M. Bozman's excellent translation of 'The Letters of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart' (Dent)

does not, of course, reveal the fullness of his personality; that was reserved for his music. But it helps. The letters show how, for years, his genius, though richly endowed with soaring gaiety, energy, thought, felicity, loveableness, sublimity, was depressed through drudgery and the hurtful anxieties of want. Remembering the abundance of imperishable gold that he gave to the world in 'Figaro,' 'The Magic Flute,' and 'Don Giovanni,' it is humiliating to read the letters he was forced to write to Michael Puchberg begging for loans of money to carry on. That is the irony of Mozart's life; with this added, that he who through his works is ever-living lies lost in a common grave, a poorer grave than that of Blake—and no man knoweth his sepulchre. Everything to do with genius, of a sympathetic hue, has its interest for the devoted; and there is pathos and entertainment for Mozartians in these letters, which show his nonsense, playfulness, occasional coarseness; his pride, careless generosity, inward seriousness, indifference, and very easy capacity for falling in love; but the great Mozart is not there—as is only to be expected; for when inspiration falls on the creator of eternal things would he be likely to fritter it away in the writing of family letters?

To compress into ten thousand words or so the immeasurable characteristics of 'The Victorian Age in Politics, War, and Diplomacy' (Cambridge University Press) is, of course, impossible; yet Dr Harold Temperley has made a bold endeavour to accomplish it in this readable little book. The omissions, of course, are colossal; but even a hundred ponderous tomes devoted to the same vast subject would be insufficient. So let us enjoy this brief, suggestive criticism, appreciation, survey, of a great period and be thankful. We recognise from it how the inspired common sense and moral strength of the Middle Class, despite the trumpetings of individual statesmen, was really the effective factor in Victorian progress, and helped to make every extension of the franchise work; whereby the democratic angers which shook down thrones on the Continent left the monarchy of Britain even more secure on its foundations of popular respect and love. Dr Temperley points out the extraordinary weakness of England, little as it was suspected

at the time, through the wilful neglect of the Army after Waterloo, and until the failures in the Crimea brought home the truth to those responsible; and illustrates the dangers of the Victorian policy of 'splendid isolation' in Europe. Incidentally, and without overstressing, he proves the greatness of the influence and personality of the Queen, as a supreme factor in the progress of the Empire during her Age.

From Canada comes almost a complementary book to the foregoing, a full survey of the economic and social conditions of 'Great Britain from Adam Smith to the Present Day' (Longmans), appropriately dedicated by its writer, Prof. C. R. Fay, to the wife and co-worker of that leading orthodox economist, Alfred Marshall. It is on the whole a heartening work; for although, in the more than two hundred years of history of which it treats, there necessarily have been—as we of this generation especially have anxious reason to know—shocks, losses, and vicissitudes, Britain, through her general common sense and strength of heart, has persisted; and we can look forward to a continuous prosperity, provided those personal qualities remain, as they will remain. Organisation and co-operation are the economic safeguards of the future; and it is well that we should be so reminded by this volume, which is crammed with facts, figures, and excellent doctrine; well-expressed and covering a wide field. It is especially right that Adam Smith should be recalled; for in these days when 'that insidious and crafty animal, vulgarly called a statesman or politician,' backed by the too-hurried approval of an emotional press, has too much power, we need such principles, sound and far-seeing, as the Father of Political Economy laid down, for the due guidance and furtherance of British commerce.

The priceless value of the treasures of the British Museum is illustrated by the handsome 'Catalogue of The George Eumorfopoulos Collection' (Benn), which Mr Laurence Binyon, with charm and authority of pen, has presented to the world; and binders, engravers, and printers are to be congratulated on its attractiveness. The collection consists of Chinese, Corean, and Siamese paintings, generally on silk but with some frescoes. The sole regret in appraising the value of the volume is that

all the illustrations could not be in colour; for with such treasures as, especially, the paintings upon silk their delicacy and richness of tint and design are necessarily lost in the sober monotone of collotype. This is not ingratitude, but merely evidence of the impossibility of not looking a gift-horse in the mouth. The coloured reproductions which especially attract the attention are those of birds and flowers on bushes and boughs; the hunting picture with the archer and his attendant looking up at the falling quarry; and, for its humanity, Li Po suffering the blessings of liquor. Better China drunk than soused in opium; and here, in a characteristic picture of the great poet, we see him as he was when possibly the burden of inspiration had grown too much. Leaning one night over the edge of a boat he was drowned 'in a drunken effort to embrace the reflexion of the moon.' There have been worse purposes, less noble ways of death.

English literature is accumulating a valuable debt to French scholars for their researches. M. Huchon on Crabbe, M. André Maurois on Shelley, M. Roussin on Godwin, MM. Legouis and Cazamian on the history of our literature; and now M. Georges Lafourcade on Swinburne and M. Gérard de Catalogne on Thomas Hardy. That is a real tribute to the richness of the heritage that our poets and prose-writers have bequeathed to us. And none of those works is more valuable than the two large volumes by M. Lafourcade on '*La Jeunesse de Swinburne*'; the thesis for his Doctorate in Letters of the University of Strasburg. The author is blessed with the three essentials of industry, enthusiasm, and discrimination. He recognises some of the weaknesses of his poet; but is able, with a justified eagerness, to remind us of the true flame of genius which inspired Swinburne in his younger years, before he was clutched benevolently but fatally by '*les doigts crochus de Watts-Dunton*.' This work is necessary to future students of Swinburne. Not only does it interpret his earlier and principal writings in impassioned verse and still impassioned, though less convincing, prose; but it prints for the first time things written by him and letters relating to him of real biographical and exegetical value. Want of space precludes more than this brief

appreciation of M. Lafourcade's devoted and brilliant book; but we hope it will be sufficient to send Swinburnians and others helter-skelter after it. We pass to a lesser plane with M. Gérard de Catalogne's more conventional study, '*Le Message de Thomas Hardy*,' published in the series, '*Les Cahiers d'Occident*.' An excellent tribute to Hardy as poet, novelist, and philosopher, it discerns clearly the pessimistic, even the pagan, philosophy which in some measure infused all his works; but there is little that is fresh in this study, and the misprints among the English titles of books and surnames are more numerous than should have been, even in a work that has the excuse of foreign scholarship and printing.

The American Library Association of Chicago has started a series of reading-courses which might well be adopted in this country. A booklet of some twelve thousand words has been issued summarising the course to be followed, with a list of books to be helpfully read. Prof. Irvine Babbitt of Harvard has written for the series an admirable survey of '*French Literature*.' We could have wished, in no narrowly insular spirit, that he had omitted the slighting, unnecessary, and indeed inaccurate, references to English prejudice on his first page; but, that small protest made, we are able to praise. The booklet is a model of compact information and enlightened judgment. It not only mentions the leading writers of the great literature of France, but aptly points their characteristics. How true, for instance, is this critical view of Balzac, showing an imperfection in his work that has often been overlooked. His 'style has a taint of commonness, a taint that is closely related to a lack of elevation in his total outlook on life.' To discriminate without unduly dispraising is a necessary part of the critic's task. Although manifestly in this very brief study, the author could not notice everything, he might well have mentioned Baudelaire in the paragraph relating to the influential decadents. Curiously, as if to show that the publishers of England are not altogether neglectful of the opportunities of inexpensive studies, there comes Dr. H. Ashton's sixpenny brochure, '*The French Novel*' (Benn), in which, at greater length than with Prof. Babbitt, though without his brilliancy,

he treats helpfully of French fiction from the 17th century until now.

The world-wide unity of English study is illustrated by Miss Hope Emily Allen's elaborate treatise on the 'Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle' (Oxford University Press). This comes from America, and is as exhaustive as may be of the 14th-century hermit-writer of Hampole in Yorkshire, whose personality greatly impressed his contemporaries, whether they liked him or not; and whose influence at any rate persisted in the district wherein he mainly settled for some years after the Reformation. Much of the biography is necessarily conjectural, though it has no mere guess-work behind it; but the value of the book, as the title suggests, rests on its study and description of the mass of Rolle's writings—a labour of love as well as of scholarship. Inevitably the appeal of so ancient and obscure a writer is limited; but 'Richard Hermit' belonged to the period that was supremely adorned by Chaucer and Langland, and his verse, such as the 'Prick of Conscience,' was a stepping-stone in the progress of English poetry.

It is a comforting fact, amid the many perplexities now troubling the Church, that the Personality of Christ Himself is making a more real and greater appeal than has been for several years. Many books recently published testify to this encouraging truth; and two that have come to us, approaching the sublime subject from opposite directions, give it further emphasis. 'The Mind of Jesus' (Sampson Low) by Mr Louis Howland is simple but no less helpful for that. 'Men are coming to see Him as brother, friend, and co-worker without losing anything of the sense of His divinity.' The author studies many aspects of Christ's Personality, and not all of his studies are of equal value; but the book as a whole helps. Of a different character is 'Jesus Christ and His Revelation' (Chapman and Hall) from the pen of Dr Vacher Burch. With perseverance and an insight even remarkable this author has visited the earliest Christian sources and the 'De Bello Judaico' of Josephus. Much of the work is abstruse; so that it is not altogether a volume for the general. Its purpose, however, must make strong appeal, as new light is thrown on old problems. Dr Burch shows, in the first place, how

Jewish prejudice consciously depreciated Christ and His message, 'Talmudising Him'; and his analyses of the influence of Greek and Hebrew scholarship upon Christian thought and doctrine are effective. The particular interest of the work, however, comes with the last chapter, which, exploiting an earlier version of Josephus than had hitherto been used, brings further evidence of Jewish views of the mission of Christ. Incidentally, it asserts that the thirty pieces of silver went to Pilate, and not to Judas; but the whole chapter, whether its discoveries are reliable or not, is stimulating and alluring.

It was a happy thought to add to Mr Kipling's long series of works a selection from the speeches delivered by him during the last twenty-one years; for '**A Book of Words**' (Macmillan) is at once characteristic of its author—the tricks and ways of expression that we have loved live again here—and it gives him to us without such cloak as the story-teller, whether in verse or prose, is generally bound to wear. Not all of these thirty-one speeches are of a similar quality; as, indeed, could hardly be expected of mortal man; but all are addressed with humour and earnestness to sympathetic audiences on special occasions. Sometimes flashes come of the power that was brilliant in 'Many Inventions' and 'Barrack Room Ballads'; as in the passage about Jonathan Swift, in the speech upon 'Fiction,' addressed to the Royal Society of Literature:

'He consumes himself, and perishes in utter desolation. Out of all his agony remains one little book, his dreadful testament against his fellow-kind, which to-day serves as a pleasant tale for the young under the title of "Gulliver's Travels." That, and a faint recollection of some baby-talk in some love-letters, is as much as the world has chosen to retain of Jonathan Swift, Master of Irony. Think of it! It is like tuning-down the glare of a volcano to light a child to bed.'

It is the Kipling touch.

In their book on '**The Gurkhas, their Manners, Customs and Country**' (Lane) Major W. Brook Northey and Captain C. J. Morris have a purpose beyond that expressed in the title: a purpose to be commended.

The services in the War of the Gurkhas never have been fully recognised. These interesting people are not subjects of the King; they belong to an independent state beyond the Empire, and are bound to us by nothing more than a Treaty of Friendship; yet they have given men and regiments to the service of India second to none in devotion and prowess; and in the early, critical days of the War, in Flanders and France, they helped to save everything that for us was worth while. Let that not be forgotten; nay, let it be remembered in such a manner that in their far-off villages, under the slopes of the Himalayas, they shall know that we are grateful and proud of them. The volume, deep and thorough in its researches and information, is illustrated with some uncommonly good photographs. It shows what a deal has still to be learnt of the world in many unexplored quarters.

Mrs Charles Bruce Marriott is the editor or compiler of a curiously composite volume. 'The Voyage of the *Caroline*' (Longmans), to take the main title, consists of the short personal diary of Mrs Rosalie Hare, the newly-wedded wife of the captain of the ship which carried emigrants and sheep for the settlement of the new colony in Tasmania. It is a pity that illness and other causes prevented this first-hand narrative from being other than slight; for Mrs Hare had gifts of observation and a nicely fresh manner of saying things. Moreover, she was able to bring even within this brevity something of the life of the sea and of days more desperate than ours; for pirates intervened, and mutineers. But it all is only a glimpse. The bulk of the book consists of Mrs Marriott's account of the earliest explorations of Tasmania when the authorities at home had the idea of making it a large and profitable colony for sheep; with sidelights upon Drake, Napoleon, and others. Its want of method makes the volume a little confusing; but it yet tells a story of determination, strengthening to read. Australians in exile—meaning Australians at Home from home—will especially enjoy Miss Kathleen Ussher's little book in the 'Outward Bound Library,' 'The Cities of Australia' (Dent); for its particular accounts of streets and houses are necessarily lost on those who cannot see them with the mind's eye. The

later chapters which deal generally with the art-life of the great insular-Dominion make rather a wider appeal; and Australians over here should like it. Of more general interest and value are Mr Hector Bolitho's 'The New Zealanders,' and 'The Australian Bush' by Miss Mary E. Fullerton in the same series. To flit to another part of the Empire, 'Ceylon Past and Present' (Hurst and Blackett) proves Major C. M. Enriquez to be an enthusiast, but neither shallow nor undiscerning. He has been moved by the ancient ruins of Ceylon to recall what has been there; and to estimate what is, and what still may be. He has made an industrious endeavour to get to the truth about the island of Cinnamon; and succeeds in making the country appear attractive, especially to archæologists, for the Cinghalese forests still have results to yield to those who wisely seek them; while the races inhabiting the island, with its flora and fauna, have many peculiar interests to disclose. It is a fairly comprehensive book, and should be a lure to travellers to visit an island not so well known as it ought to be, in spite of its being on the high-road of the ocean.

It is a bad business that no more romance is to come from the humorous, imaginative pen of Donn Byrne; for although 'Destiny Bay' (Sampson Low) belongs, on the whole, to his lesser work, it is fine stuff, penned with humanity, sense of beauty, and comic vision. Incidentally it shows the oneness of Ireland whenever the Irish themselves forget their divisions; for although the chief man of the tale, Kerry MacFarlane, and the fascinating persons associated with him generally, play their game in Ulster and enjoy the singing of the 'Boyne,' they still are close of kindred to the Irish of everywhere else. This novel is rich with out-of-door activities, love of horses and fisticuffs, and each of its nine episodes, the long and short, goes with zest and glow. It is a truism as old as the earliest anthology that no literary selection can please everybody; and so long as the choice has not been frightfully bad, the best thing generally is to say 'Thank you,' and be done with it. We can commend the collection of 'Great French Short Stories' (Benn) which Mr Lewis Melville and Mr Reginald Hargreaves have compiled. They have not failed to

choose some tales which seem never to be left out of an anthology of the kind, as 'The Procurator of Judæa' by Anatole France, and 'The Necklace' by Guy de Maupassant; but their most surprising feat is to include in their sheaf four of Perrault's simplest fairy tales with so daring a story, excellently retranslated by Mr Hargreaves, as Maupassant's 'Saved.' And here follows a corresponding volume from another publisher, 'Great Stories of all Nations' (Harrap), selected by Maxim Lieber and Blanche Colton Williams—an extraordinarily rich store of tales from Ancient Egypt, Greece, India, Rome, Persia, Arabia, down to, let us say, our own happy and brilliant Stacy Aumonier. And all this mighty treasure-house for eight-and-six!

INDEX

TO THE

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIRST VOLUME OF THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

[Titles of Articles are printed in heavier type. The names of authors of articles are printed in italics.]

A.

Aberystwyth, Plant Breeding Station at, 298, 308-309.

Acta Cancellariæ or Selections from the Records of the Court of Chancery (containing extracts from the Masters' Reports and Certificates, etc.), 79.

Acton, Lord, 'Historical Essays and Studies,' quotation from, 369.

Agriculture in Wales: The Lesson for English Farmers, 297-313.

Allen, Miss Hope Emily, 'Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle,' 410.

America, United States of, process of mechanisation in, 71-73—unemployment in, 74-78.

Animals, effect of sunlight treatment upon health of, 234-236.

Archæological and Topographical Research in and near Rome, 1908-1928.. 281-296.

Argentina, British Trade with, 316-317.

'Aristotle. The Poetics,' Loeb Classical Series, 242 *et seq.*

Ashby, Dr Thomas, 'Archæological and Topographical Research in and near Rome, 1908-1928'.. 281—'A Topographical Dictionary of Rome,' 281, 283—'Drawings of Ancient Paintings in English Collections,' from 'Papers of the British School at Rome,' 286, 290, 294.

Ashton, Dr H., 'The French Novel,' 409-410.

'Aspects of Home Rule,' Selected

from the Speeches of the Rt Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P., 367.

Association of Women's House Property Managers, 361, 363.

B.

Babbitt, Prof. Irvine, 'French Literature,' 409.

Baganani, G., translator of 'La Zona Archeologica di Roma,' under title of 'The Classical Remains of Rome and its Vicinity,' 281, 284.

Bailey, John, 'A Question of Taste,' allusion to, 388.

Balfour, The Earl of, 367-402.

Balfour, Rt Hon. Arthur James, M.P., Works of: 'A Defence of Philosophic Doubt,' 367—'The Foundations of Belief,' 367, 384—extracts from, 384-385, 386, 387, 388—'Essays and Addresses,' 367, 374, 376, 391—'Theism and Humanism,' 367—extracts from, 370, 372, 388—'Essays: Speculative and Political,' 367—'Theism and Thought. A Study in familiar beliefs,' 367, 401—'Opinions and Arguments from Speeches and Addresses of,' 367, 394, 402—quotation from, 375—parentage and stock of, 369—his life at Cambridge, 370—enters Parliament, 371—essentially a philosopher, 371-372—seeks the ground-work of Science and is disillusioned, 372-374—accepts Irish Secretaryship, 378—his Irish policy, 378-379, 380-381—becomes Leader of House of Commons, 382—becomes Premier

- on death of Lord Salisbury, 390—his work as Premier, 390-393—his retirement from and re-entrance into Politics, 394—his work as First Lord of the Admiralty, 395-396—his work as Foreign Secretary, 396, 397-399—his association with Mr Lloyd George, 396-397—his mission to the U.S.A., 399—his volte-face on the Irish Question, 400—becomes Lord President of the Council, 431.
- Bath and Wells, Diocese Registers of, 129 *et seq.*
- Bensusan, S. L.*, 'Agriculture in Wales: The Lesson for English Farmers,' 297.
- Berlin, Congress of, its significance, 1.
- Berlin Treaty, The: Fifty Years Afterwards**, 1-17.
- Binyon, Laurence, 'Catalogue of the George Eumorfopoulos Collection,' 407-408.
- Birkenhead, the Earl of, Secretary of State for India, 185, 191.
- Bismarck, his policy regarding the Near Eastern Question, 9-17.
- Blair, publisher of 'Scriptural Poems,' extract from, 98.
- Bliss, Douglas Percy, 'A History of Wood-Engraving,' 200-201.
- Blythe, E. M. E.*, 'The Soldier's Faith,' 55.
- von Boehn, Max, 'Miniatures and Silhouettes,' 200.
- Bolitho, Hector, 'The New Zealanders,' 413.
- Books, Some Recent**, 195-204, 403-414.
- Bozman, M. M., translator of 'The Letters of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart,' 405-406.
- British Trade in South America**, 314-329.
- Brittain, William J., writer of article on 'The Beginnings of Television,' in the 'Quarterly Review' for April 1928..194.
- Brown, John, D.D., 'John Bunyan, His Life, Times and Work,' 96, 102-103—'John Bunyan,' 96.
- Buckland, Archdeacon, author of a book on Bunyan, 103.
- Buckle, George Earle, Editor of 'The Letters of Queen Victoria' (Second Series), vol. III, 1, 3.
- Bunin, on Icons, 146.
- Bunyan, John, 96-113.**
- Bunyan, John, his early years, 96-99—his success as a speaker, 99—extract from his 'Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners,' 100—his prose style, 100-108, 110—compared to Defoe, 105-106, 109—extracts from his 'Pilgrim's Progress,' 105, 106, 107-109, 111—compared to Dickens, 109.
- Burch, Dr Vacher, 'Jesus Christ and His Revelation,' 410-411.
- Bush, Dr Vannevar, inventor of the integrator, 73.
- Butler, Dr Nicholas M., Head of Columbia University, on America's national need, 230.
- Byrne, Donn, the late, 'Destiny Bay,' 413.
- C.
- Calderon, F. Garcia, 'Latin America,' 324.
- Callwell, Major-General Sir C. E., K.B.E., 'Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, Bart, G.C.B., D.S.O., His Life and Diaries,' 18—extracts from, 19 *et seq.*—allusion to, 398-399.
- Calza, G., 'Ostia,' 281.
- 'Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy,' 1, 2-3, 8.
- Capitulations in Egypt, The**, 114-128.
- Capitulations in Egypt, their origin and history, 114-116—their political importance, 116-119—the restraints imposed by them, 119-127—their benefits to the Egyptian, 127-128.
- de Catalogne, M. Gerard, 'Le Mesage de Thomas Hardy,' 409.
- Cazamian, M. Louis, author of Part II of 'History of English Literature,' 204.
- Cecil, Algernon*, 'The Earl of Balfour,' 367.
- Chamberlain, Rt Hon. Neville, his tackling of the Housing Problem, 351-353, 365.
- Chancery, the Court of, the foremost archive of the State, 84-88, 90-93.
- Chelmsford, Lord, Viceroy of India, 180.
- Chiol, Sir Valentine, 'The Egyptian Problem,' 114.

Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston, 'Life of Lord Randolph Churchill,' extract from, 375-376.

Cleveland, Grover, President of the United States, 226-227.

Coatman, J., Director of Public Information with the Government of India, 'India in 1926-27,' a statement prepared for presentation to Parliament, 175, 191-193.

Congress of Berlin, significance of, 1.

Conway, Sir Martin, 'Art Treasures in Soviet Russia,' 144, 147-148, 150, 151.

Coolidge, President of the United States, 77, 222, 228, 229, 230—on the present state of American Politics, 224.

Cramming, harmful consequences of, 164-169.

Curzon, the Marquis, his work in India, 175-178, 194.

D.

'Daily Telegraph' for Feb. 19, 1920, extract from, 57.

Das, S. R., writer of an article in the 'Asiatic Review,' on the political situation in India in 1924, 188-189.

Dawson, W. H., contributor to the 'Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy,' 2-3.

Diocese Registers of Bath and Wells, 129 *et seq.*

Divorce Law Reform, 256-269.

Divorce, history of, 256-263—its inaccessibility to the poor, 262, 263, 264-265—injustice of the present law of, 262-267.

Dodds, Leonard V., 'Recent Progress in Sunlight Knowledge,' 231.

Dugdale, Mrs. Edgar, editor of 'Opinions and Arguments from Speeches and Addresses of the Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., F.R.S., 1910-1927'..367, 402.

Dugmore, Major A. Radcliffe, 'African Jungle Life,' 202.

E.

Ecuador, eradication of yellow fever in, 322.

Edison, Thomas, his formula on Machinery, 71.

Education, suggested reforms in, 169-173—two types of, 210-212.

Egypt, The Capitulations in, 114-128.

Enriquez, Major C. M., 'Ceylon Past and Present,' 413.

Examinations, The Nightmare of, 160-174.

Excommunication in the Middle Ages, 129-143.

F.

Faithfull, T. J., 'Bi-Sexuality,' 202.

Fay, Prof. C. R., 'Great Britain from Adam Smith to the Present Day,' 407.

Federn, Karl, 'Richelleu,' 405.

Fidler, Miss Florence G., 'The Bird that is Blue,' 204.

Fillmore, J. C., 'Pianoforte Music,' extract from, 384-385.

de Fiori, Signor Vittorio E., 'Mussolini, the Man of Destiny,' 196.

Fitzgerald, W. G., 'Men versus Machines in the United States,' 70.

Fitzpatrick, Sir Dennis, Lieut-Governor of the Punjab, extract from letter of, 184.

Fitzpatrick, Prof. A. F., on the neglect by the British of the languages of Latin America, 323-324.

Fluorescence, developments in phenomenon of, 238-241.

Fora, progress in excavation of, 292-294.

Ford, Henry, 71, 74, 78.

Forel, Dr., 'The Social World of the Ants,' 403—extract from, 403.

Fuller, Prof. J. V., 'Bismarck's Policy at its Zenith,' 1, 11, 12, 13, 17.

Fullerton, Miss Mary E., 'The Australian Bush,' 413.

G.

German Foreign Office, 1922-27, 'Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914'..1, 14-15.

Goldsmith, Oliver, Miscellaneous Works of, 270—extract from his 'Citizen of the World,' 272—moral

- tone of the works of, 274—extract from the 'Advertisement' to his 'Vicar of Wakefield,' 274—extract from his poem 'The Traveller,' 275.
- 'Goldy,' 270-280.
- Gooch, G. P., 'History of Modern Europe,' 1, 13.
- Grabar, Prof. Igor, 'History of Russian Art,' vol. vi, 'The Epoch before Peter,' 144, 150, 152—extract from, 147.
- Greek Tragedy, The Substance of, 242-255.
- Greek Tragedy, the keynote of, 249—compared with Italian 15th-century painters, 254-255.
- Gross, Charles, compiler of a bibliography of English Mediaeval History, 80, 81.

H.

- Haig, Field-Marshal Earl, his relations with Sir Henry Wilson, 30, 41—refuses the demands of the Supreme War Council, 38-39.
- Hailey, Sir Malcolm, Governor of the Punjab, 190.
- Hallam, G. H., 'Horace at Tibur and the Sabine Farm,' 281.
- Harding, President of the United States, 225, 227.
- Harding, Rev. R. Winboul, 'John Bunyan, his Life and Times,' 103—extract from, 112.
- Hardinge, Lord, Viceroy of India, 179, 180.
- Hargreaves, Reginald, part compiler of 'Great French Short Stories,' 413-414.
- Harrison, Frank Mott, reviser of the Tercentenary Edition of 'John Bunyan,' by John Brown, D.D., 96, 102.
- Harrison, Frederick, 80.
- Harrison, G. B., M.A., 'John Bunyan: A Study in Personality,' 96, 103.
- Hastings, Warren, extract from a letter from, 178.
- Hazen, Dr, 'Europe since 1815'..7.
- Head, Sir Francis, on South American trade conditions, 316.
- Hearnshaw, Prof. F. J. C., 'A Survey of Socialism,' 195.
- Herodotus, quotations from, 251.

- Hill, Octavia, the late, methods of, regarding housing, 358-363.
- Hirst, W. A., 'British Trade in South America,' 314.
- History, New Materials for, 79-95.
- Hopkinson, Austin, 'Religio Militis,' extracts from, 55 *et seq.*—military career of, 56.
- Housing Problem, 349-351—outline of measures dealing with, 351-353.
- Howland, Louis, 'The Mind of Jesus,' 410.
- Hülssen, Ch., part author of 'Formæ Orbis Romæ Antiquæ,' 281—'The Roman Forum,' 281—'The Forum and the Palatine,' 281, 284.
- Hutchison, Lieut-Col G. S., D.S.O., M.C., on the object of the sunlight clinic at Sherwood Colliery, 232.
- Hutton, The Very Rev. W. H., Dean of Winchester, 'John Bunyan,' 96.
- Huxley's 'Life and Letters,' allusion to, 389.

I.

- Icon, The Russian, 144-159.
- Icon, the Russian, its origin and history, 144-146, 148-149, 150-153—study of, 146-148—construction of, 154-155—universal presence of, 155—miraculous powers of, 156—influence of, 157-158.
- Improved Tenements Association, work of, 361-363.
- India from Curzon's Days to These, 175-194.
- India, Lord Curzon's work in, 175-178—the 'Home Rule' Movement in, 179-181, 187-194—the new Constitution in, after Government of India Act, 1919..182-185.

K.

- Kellogg, Mr, Foreign Minister in the U.S.A., his peace proposals, 229.
- Kensington Housing Trust, activities of, 364.
- Kiepert, H., part author of 'Formæ Urbis Romæ Antiquæ,' 281.
- Kipling, Rudyard, 'A Book of Words,' a selection from his speeches during the last twenty-one years, 411.
- Kirkpatrick, F. A., 'South America and the War,' 314.

- Kitchener, Field-Marshal Earl, his relations with Sir Henry Wilson, 25-26.
 Koebel, W. H., 'South America,' 314—extract from, 319.
 Kondakov, N. P., 'The Russian Icon,' 144 *et seq.*—extract from, 155.

L.

- Lafourcade, M. Georges, 'La Jeunesse de Swinburne,' 408-409.
 Lamplough, F. E., M.A., inventor of a true glass, 234.
 Lanciani, R., 'Storia degli Scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità,' vols III and IV, 281, 284.
 Landor, Walter Savage, 'Imaginary Conversations,' extract from, 402.
 Larreta, Enrique, 'The Glory of Don Ramiro,' 324.
 Lawrence, Sir Walter R., Bart, G.C.I.E., 'The India We Served,' 175, 176, 177, 192-193.
 Law Tracts, a Collection of, 79.
 Leescov, 'Russian Sketches: The Sealed Angel,' 144, 147—extract from, 154.
 Legouis, M. Emile, author of Part I, of 'History of English Literature,' 204.
 Lenotre, M. G., 'Robespierre's Rise and Fall,' 199-200.
 Lieber, Maxim, part compiler of 'Great Stories of all Nations,' 414.
 Light, outline of principal discoveries in the Science of, 231-232.
 Lincoln, Abraham, President of the United States, 224, 226, 227-228.
 Lloyd, Lord, High Commissioner of Egypt, 128.
 Loeb Classical Series, 'Aristotle. The Poetics,' 242 *et seq.*
 Lovett, Sir Verney, K.C.S.I., 'India from Curzon's Days to These,' 175.
 Lucas, F. L., 'Tragedy,' 242, 248.
 Lugli, G., 'La Zona Archeologica di Roma,' 281, 284—'La Villa Sabina di Orazio' (in 'Monumenti del Lincei,' xxxi, col. 457-498), 281, 295—'Forma Italiae: Regio I, Latium et Campania. Vol. I, Ager Pomptinus. Pars I, Anxur-Tarracina; Pars II, Circeii,' 281.

- Lyons, Messrs J., & Co., Ltd., experiments in ultra-violet radiation at Cadby Hall works of, 233.
 Lyte, Sir Henry Maxwell, 85, 88, 89.
 Lyttelton, Rev. the Hon. Edward, 'The Nightmare of Examinations,' 160.
 Lytton, Lord, Governor of Bengal, 187.

M.

- Macaulay, Lord, on Bunyan, 102.
 MacPhail, Sir Andrew, 'Sir Henry Wilson,' 18.
 Marriott, Mrs C. B., 'The Voyage of the Caroline,' 412.
 Marshall, Hon. Mr Justice, 'The Capitulations in Egypt,' 114—'Divorce Law Reform,' 256.
 Mason method (of education), 172, 174.
 Masson, Prof., author of Biographical Introduction to 'The Miscellaneous Works of Oliver Goldsmith,' 270.
 Matrimonial Causes Act, 1857..262, 263—1923..263.
 McKinley, President of the United States, 217-218.
 Maurice, Major-Gen. Sir Frederick, K.C.M.G., 'The Life of General Lord Rawlinson of Trent,' G.C.B., from his Journals and Letters,' 175, 186, 187.
 Mayo, C. H. P., 'The Public School Spirit,' 205.
 Medical Research Council, extract from report of, on pollution of the atmosphere, 234.
 Medlicott, W. N., 'The Berlin Treaty: Fifty Years Afterwards,' 1.
 Melville, Lewis, part compiler of 'Great French Short Stories,' 413-414.
 Men versus Machines in the United States, 70-78.
 Mendl, R. W. S., 'Musical Labels,' 330.
 Miall, Bernard, translator of 'Latin America,' by F. Garcia Calderon, 324.
 Middle Ages, Excommunication in the, 129-143.
 Minns, Prof. Ellis H., translator of 'The Russian Icon,' by Kondakov, 144, 145, 146, 148, 150, 155.

Mitchell, Dr P. Chalmers, Secretary of the Royal Zoological Society of London, extract from report on use of sunlight to maintain animal health, 234-235.

Montgomery, Dr, discoverer of a cure for diseases of sheep, 309-310.

Montmorency, J. E. G., 'History of Marriage in England,' 256.

Morison, J. Cotter, on commercial catastrophe, 327-328.

Morley, Lord, on India, 178, 179.

Morris, Capt. C. J., part author of 'The Gurkhas, their Manners, Customs, and Country,' 411-412.

Morris, William, 105.

Muddiman, Sir Alexander, 188.

Music, 'Classical,' three meanings of, 333-334, 345—romanticism in, 334-345—anti-romantic movement in, 345-347.

Musical Labels, 330-348.

N.

Near Eastern Question, 3-11—British attitude towards, 7-9—German policy towards, 9-17.

New Materials for History, 79-95.

Nightmare of Examinations, The, 160-174.

Niles, Blair, 'Casual Wanderings in Ecuador,' allusion to, 322.

'Nineteenth Century' for June 1905, extract from, 392.

Northey, Major W. Brook, part author of 'The Gurkhas, their Manners, Customs, and Country,' 411-412.

P.

Page, Walter Hines, extract from letter from, 72—'Life and Letters of,' extracts from, 399.

Palatine, progress in excavation of, 284-291.

Palmer, H. P., 'Excommunication in the Middle Ages,' 129.

Pan-American Union, Bulletin of the, 314, 321.

'Peace Conference, History of the,' edited by H. W. Temperley, extract from, 398.

Peacock, Mabel, reviser of 'Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress, Grace

Abounding, and a Relation of His Imprisonment,' by Edmund Venables, 96.

Phayre, Ignatius, 'Presidential Elections in the United States,' 213.

Pindar, Ode XII, quotation from, 251.

Platner, Prof. S. B., the late, 'Ancient Rome,' 281—'A Topographical Dictionary of Rome,' 281, 283.

Polk, President of the United States, 70-71.

Pollock, Rt Hon. Sir F., Bart, K.G., editor of 'Table Talk of John Selden,' 79.

Porteous, Alexander, 'Forest Folklore, Mythology, and Romance,' 404.

Porter, Dr Arthur, 'The Inside of Bunyan's Dream,' 103.

Presidential Elections in the United States, 213-230.

Powell, Prof. F., York, 80.

Pribram, A. F., 'The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1879-1914,' 1, 13.

Public Record Office, Rules and Schedules governing the Disposal of Public Records by Destruction or Otherwise, 1877-1913..79, 93.

Public Records, Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the, 1840, etc., 79, 88—Reports of the Royal Commission on, 1910-1919..79, 87—extract from, 88.

Public School Spirit, The, 205-212.

Q.

'Quarterly Review,' No. 416, July 1908, allusion to article in, on archaeological research in Rome, 282, 288, 293—October 1925, allusion to article by H. Stuart Jones, 'The Apostles in Rome,' 296—October 1910, extract from, alluding to the Englishman in South America, 323.

'Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners,' 404.

R.

Reade, Aleyn Lyell, 'Johnsonian Gleanings,' 198-199.

Recent Progress in Sunlight Knowledge, 231-241.

Rent Restriction, influence of, 353-355.

Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 1840, etc., 79, 88.

Reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records, 1910-1919..79, 87—extract from, 88.

Rice, James, 'Relativity,' allusion to, 401.

Riepin, on Icons, 146.

Ritchie, Governor Albert G., of Maryland, on Imperialism in America, 215—on the trend of the Federal system of Government, 223.

Robertson, Field-Marshal Sir William, his 'duel' with Sir Henry Wilson, 39-40.

Robinson, Prof., of Bangor University, 309.

Rome, Archæological and Topographical Research in and near, 1908-1928..281, 296.

Ronaldshay, Rt Hon. the Earl of, 'The Life of Lord Curzon,' 175, 176, 178.

Roosevelt, President of the United States, 217-218.

Root, Elihu, on democracy, 223-224.

Roth, Dr Leon, 'The Science of Morals,' 201-202.

Roue, Reginald, 'The Slum Problem,' 349.

Rublev, Andrew, a great Russian artist, 150, 151.

Russia, religion in, at the present day, 158-159.

Russian Icon, The, 144-159.

S.

St Pancras House Improvement Society, work of, 363-364.

'Salisbury, Poetical Tributes to the Memory of the late Marquis of,' quotation from, 2.

Salvemini, Prof. Gaetano, 'Fascist Dictatorship in Italy,' 196.

Sargeant, G. M., 'The Substance of Greek Tragedy,' 242.

Scott, Sir Walter, his essay on Bunyan in the 'Quarterly Review' for October 1830..96-97, 98—extract from, 101.

Shaw, Bernard, on Bunyan, 103.

Sherwood Colliery, Mansfield, installation of a sunlight clinic at, 232—results obtained at clinic at, 233.

Sindha, Lord, the late, on an ideal of the future of India, 180.

Slum Problem, The, 349-366.

Slum Problem, its origin, 355-357—remedial methods for, 357-366.

Smith, Courtland, a former Postmaster-General of the United States, on the cost of Presidential Elections, 219.

Smith, Mrs A. L., 'Arthur Lionel Smith,' 198.

Soldier's Faith, The, 55-69.

Some Recent Books, 195-204, 403-414.

South America, British Trade in, 314-329.

South America, history of British trade with, 314-316—increase of United States trade with, 320-323—reasons for decline of British trade with, 321-327.

Southey, Robert, 'Life of John Bunyan,' 96, 97, 99—extract from, 101.

Stapledon, Prof., his work at Aberystwyth, 308-309.

Stebbing, Dr, on Bunyan, 97.

Steele, Robert, 'The Russian Icon,' 144.

Stone, Dr, 'The Cult of Santiago,' 197-198.

Stroganov, a style of Icon painting, 152.

Substance of Greek Tragedy, The, 242-255.

Sunlight Knowledge, Recent Progress in, 231-241.

Supreme War Council, constitution of, 38.

Swinton, Alan A. Campbell, on the development of television by electrons, 124.

Sydmont, Theodore, 'The Sacred Fire,' 203-204.

T.

Taft, President of the United States, 218.

Tanzer, H. H., translator of 'The Forum and the Palatine,' by Ch. Hülsen, 281.

Tedder, Henry, 80.

Temperley, Dr Harold, editor of 'History of the Peace Conference,' 398—author of 'The Victorian Age in Politics, War, and Diplomacy,' 406-407.

- Thompson, Dr R. Campbell, translator of 'The Epic of Gilgamesh,' 196-197.
- Tollemache, Hon. Mrs Lionel, translator of 'Russian Sketches: The Sealed Angel,' by Leescov, 144, 147.
- Topographical and Archaeological Research in and near Rome, 1908-1928.. 281-296.
- Treaty of Berlin, The: Fifty Years Afterwards, 1-17.
- U.
- Underwood, Senator Oscar W., on the Federal system of Government, 223.
- United States, Men versus Machines in the, 70-78.
- United States, powerfulness of President of, 214-215, 225—mechanism of electing President of, 216-221—its needs to-day, 225, 229-230.
- United States, Presidential Elections in, 213-230.
- Ussher, Miss Kathleen, 'The Cities of Australia,' 412-413.
- V.
- Van Deman, Prof. Esther B., 288-290.
- Venables, Edmund, 'Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress, Grace Abounding, and a Relation of His Imprisonment,' 96.
- Vitaglass, satisfactory results obtained from the use of, 236-238.
- W.
- Wales, Agriculture in: The Lesson for English Farmers, 297-313.
- Waley, Arthur, 'Blue Trousers,' a translation of the fourth volume of the Lady Murasaki's prose epic, 'The Tale of the Genji,' 202-203.
- Walle, Paul, 'Le Péron économique,' 814.
- Walpole, Hugh, 'Anthony Trollope,' 199.
- Walter, L. B., translator of 'The Glory of Don Ramiro,' by Enrique Larreta, 324.
- Ward, Sir Adolphus, 80.
- Washington, George, President of the United States, 71.
- Watson, Prof., extract concerning Bunyan from his 'Report on the Teaching of English in England,' 1928.. 104.
- Webb, Mr and Mrs Sidney, 79-80.
- Weeden-Cooke, R., translator of 'Ostia,' by G. Calza, 281.
- Welsh, Martin G., 'Goldy,' 270.
- Wilbur, Curtis, extract from speech by, 77.
- Williams, Blanche Colton, 'Great Stories of all Nations,' 414.
- Williams, Rushbrook, Director of Public Information with the Government of India, 186.
- Wilson, Sir Henry, 18-54.
- Wilson, Sir Henry, possible harm done by publication of his Diaries, 22—his connexion with French Military authorities, 23-25, 27—his relations with Lord Kitchener, 25-26—his fallacious judgment, 26-29—his admiration of the German General Staff, 28-29—a professor of war, 31—his early career, 32-33—his failure as a corps commander, 33-35—his skill as liaison officer, 36-37, 47—is appointed to the Eastern Command, 38—represents Britain on the Supreme War Council, 38-39—his scheme for a central reserve, 38-39—his characteristics, 41-45, 54—his affinity with the French, 36, 44—his hatred of Southern Ireland, 45, 46, 50—his friendship with Marshal Foch, 36, 49—becomes M.P. for North Down, 51—his murder, 53.
- Wilson, the late President, of the United States, 218, 225, 226, 227, 229.
- Winchester, the Dean of, the Very Rev. W. H. Hutton, 'John Bunyan,' 96.
- Z.
- Zachrisson, Prof. R. E., 'Romans, Kelts and Saxons in Ancient Britain,' 201.

END OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIRST VOLUME.

Select Educational Institutions

MILITARY SCHOOLS

NEW YORK MILITARY ACADEMY

CORNWALL ON HUDSON, N. Y.

A famous preparatory school with a magnificent equipment and an ideal location.

FOR CATALOGUE WRITE TO THE PRINCIPAL

Tennessee Military School

Box 618 Sweetwater, Tenn.

One of America's best schools. Fifty-second year. Called patrons in more than forty States. Thorough permanent faculty of experienced teachers. Write for catalogue.

Col. C. R. ENDSLEY, Superintendent

COLLEGES

University of Southern California

Enroll in the following schools and colleges: Liberal Arts, Law, Dentistry, Pharmacy, Music, Speech, Commerce and Business Administration, Religion, Social Science, Education, Graduate School, Metropolitan College.

President, Rufus B. von Klein Smid, A.M., Sc.D., D.M.C.P., Ph.D., Litt.D.

For bulletins, address Registrar, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

ST. MARY'S UNIVERSITY OF SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

Fully accredited Senior College for men. Boarding and day school. Distinct High School and Grammar Departments. Write for catalog.

IDEALLY SITUATED IN THE WINTER PLAYGROUND OF AMERICA

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE ST. MARYS, KANSAS

"TOM PLAYFAIR'S SCHOOL" Jesuit Boarding School for Boys

For catalog, write

REV. B. J. RODMAN, S.J., President

Brenau College Conservatory

Select patronage 32 states; location, foothills near Ridge Mts. North of Atlanta. Standard A. B. courses; special advantages in music, art, art, domestic science, physical culture. 32 buildings. Outdoor sports; swimming, boating, horseback riding, etc.

Catalog and illustrated book. Address:

BRENAU, Box E, Gainesville, Ga.

When answering advertisements kindly mention the Leonard Scott Publications

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW

Published Quarterly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1928.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Robert J. Spence, who, having been duly sworn according to law, depose and says that he is the Publisher of

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW

and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher, Robert J. Spence, 249 West 13th St., New York.

Editor—John Murray, London, England.

Managing Editor—None.

Business Manager—Robert J. Spence, 249 West 13th St., New York.

2. That the owner is:

Robert J. Spence, trading as Leonard Scott Publication Co., 349 West 13th St., New York.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; and that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and that affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

ROBERT J. SPENCE, Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of March, 1928.

WILLIAM O. TUTTLE

Notary Public, Westchester County. Certificate filed in N. Y. Co. Clk's No. 225. Certificate filed in N. Y. Co. Reg. Office No. 9192. Term expires March 30th, 1929.

DISTINGUISHED PERIODICALS

Since 1810 the Leonard Scott Publication Co. has been the American headquarters for the foremost British Reviews: *The Nineteenth Century*, *Contemporary Review*, *Fortnightly Review*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*.

BY DISTINGUISHED WRITERS

Thomas Hardy, Maxim Gorky, George B. Shaw, Maurice Maeterlinck, John Drinkwater, Hugh Walpole, George Moore, Frank Swinnerton, Ford Madox Ford, Karel Capek, Selma Langerlof, Francis W. Hirst, Archibald Henderson, H. Granville Barker, Robert Graves, Shelia Kaye-Smith, Max Beer-bohm, Sir Oliver Lodge and Hon. Ramsay MacDonald are some of the recent contributors to those famous publications.

FOR DISTINGUISHED TASTES

In their survey of literature and international affairs, these reviews are not surpassed by any other periodicals printed in the English language, and few, if any, approach them. If you are familiar with these publications, you will appreciate this statement; if not, a sample copy will prove to you that our claim is a conservative one.

AT PLEASING PRICES

Original English Editions of these splendid reviews are supplied by us at a saving of nearly 50%.

Annual Subscriptions and Combination Rates

		U. S.	Canada
Nineteenth Century	any one	\$ 7.00	\$ 7.35
Contemporary Review	any two	13.50	14.00
Fortnightly Review	all three	20.00	21.00
Blackwood's Magazine	any one	\$ 5.00	\$ 5.00
Edinburgh Review	any two	9.50	9.50
Quarterly Review	all three	13.50	13.50

Leonard Scott Publication Company

249 West 13th Street, New York

